PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. I

POST-HERULIAN ATHENS

Edited by
Paavo Castrén

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Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267–529

Edited by
Paavo Castrén

HELSINKI 1994

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ISSN 1237–2684
ISBN 951–95295–2–7

Printed in Finland by Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, Vammala 1994

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Foreword and Acknowledgements

by Paavo Castrén

Foreword

The first research project of the Finnish Archaeological Institute at Athens, established in 1985, is the Late Antiquity in Athens, that is the period between the Herulian raid of A.D. 267 and the closing of the Academy by Justinian in A.D. 529. We chose this subject for several reasons. First, Finnish classical scholarship had already some experience in studying the problems connected with Late Antiquity in general[1] and especially with the eastern part of the Roman Empire.[2] Secondly, there did not seem to be much competition in this field, since the Late Antiquity of Athens is a rather poorly known period. Especially in the 1980's, when the massive work of Miss Alison Frantz[3] had not yet appeared, there seemed to remain a great number of unanswered questions concerning life, culture and society in Athens in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Since then other interesting studies have appeared,[4] and we are glad if our activity has in part helped to awaken this interest.

A team of Finnish postgraduate students started the work in 1986. As is our custom, the members of the team represented different fields of classical scholarship: there were two philologists, one of whom, Dr. Vappu Pyykkö, already had a thorough knowledge of contemporary literary sources and was especially interested in studying the activity of Athenian rhetorical and philosophical schools in the third and fourth centuries (unfortunately, her study will not be published in this volume), and the other philologist, Mr. Erkki Sironen, Lic. phil., whose task was the study of the Late Roman Attic inscriptions.[5] There was also a historian, Julia Burman, M.A., who, as a scholar with an interest in women's studies, was especially keen in studying the intriguing *persona* of the Empress Eudocia. An archaeologist, Arja Karivieri, M.A., started out studying the building history of some important late constructions, and the present Director of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Professor Gunnar af Hällström, a theologian, studied the problems connected with the closing of the Academy in A.D. 529.

The purpose of this sort of teamwork in our archaeological institutes abroad is to give postgraduate students from Finnish universities an opportunity to start their international scientific activity in relatively safe company: in the numerous seminars the problems of every participant are treated more widely, and the participants are expected to go through their material also from the point of view of other colleagues.

Furthermore, this was a means of starting the scientific activity of the new institute in a realistic way, without excessive expenditure or bureaucracy. That the work lasted much

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1 *E.g.* Sundwall (1915); *id.* (1919); *id.* (1922); Mickwitz (1932); *id.* (1933); *id.* (1936); Bruun (1966); *id.* (1991), with a complete bibliography of the author on pages 201–205.

2 See *e.g.* Zilliacus (1935); *id.* (1943); *id.* (1949); *id.* (1953); *id.* (1967).

3 Frantz (1988).

4 *E.g.* Fowden (1990); Rügler (1990) and, most recently, Gregory (1993), *e.g.* 143–144.

5 His comprehensive edition of Late Roman Attic inscriptions is due to appear in near future.

longer than expected is principally due to the fact that the authors had to complete their articles at home in Finland in addition to other activities.

At first we had in mind to accomplish just a fairly complete description of the last pagan revival of Athens in the fifth century. It soon became clear, however, that this was not possible without considering the preceding period immediately after the Herulian raid of A.D. 267, because it was not always clear, whether the Heruli or the Visigoths had caused the damage which was being repaired in the beginning of the fifth century. We could not, however, write a comprehensive history of Post-Herulian Athens either, since we could not study thoroughly all of the relevant material in various museums and storerooms. This was mostly because of our lack of time, since the Greek, American and German archaeological authorities always helped us in a most kind and generous way.

There were many intriguing problems concerning Late Antiquity in Athens which interested us. We asked, for instance, how did the Herulian raid effect the social, intellectual and economic life of Athens and how long after the raid did it take to return to more or less normal activity. What was the actual role of the so-called Post-Herulian Wall, since it was constructed relatively late and since it could not possibly enclose all the activities practised in Athens in the fourth century. What was the real role of the "Library of Hadrian"? Was the Agora area really left in ruins for more than a century after the raid by the Heruli when at the same time luxurious villas were built in its immediate neighbourhood? Was Athens in the fourth and fifth centuries really nothing but a town of philosophers and beekeepers, as some rhetorically coloured[6] or biased contemporary sources[7] claim, or did she still have other sources of wealth as well? When and to where did the rich landowners of the second and early third centuries disappear? What was the function of the so-called Palace of the Giants? Was it something extraordinary or just one of the many luxurious late villas which we know from other parts of the Empire? How long did the temple of Ares exist in the Agora, as the "Palace of the Giants" still seems not to encroach on its area in the fifth century? How thorough was the raid on Athens by Alaric and his Visigoths in A.D. 395/6? Some of these questions were already answered by Miss Alison Frantz in her book on Late Antiquity in the Athenian Agora; we have tried to answer some of the remaining questions in the light of contemporary sources including the inscriptions, which for the first time have been studied and interpreted as a group, and recent excavations as far as we have had knowledge of them. To some of these questions we have presented several possible answers[8] since I have not tried to make the theories set forth independently by my colleagues uniform. But many questions still remain open for us or others to answer at a later stage. In my opinion it is important, however, to ask these questions and not to accept anything as an unquestioned fact unless its reliability has been checked.

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6 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52.

7 Synesius, *Epistolae* 136.

8 See below, page 11, Sironen's inscription no. 33. with notes, and Burman, Chapter IV.

Acknowledgements

Ever since the Finnish team started its activity in 1986, we have met with a lot of sympathy, helpfulness and philoxenia. I wish to start by mentioning here especially Dr. Judith Binder who instantly took us under her aegis and guided our unexperienced steps on those Athenian archaeological paths which only she knows. Of course, she is not responsible for the major or minor slips we may have committed. Also Dr. Evi Touloupa, then Ephor of the first Ephoria, and her collaborators Alkmene Choremi, Petros G. Kalligas and Konstantinos Tsakos; the Ephor Vasilios Petrakos and his collaborators Liana Parlama and Georgios Steinhauer; the Ephor Theodora Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou and her collaborators Maria Theochari, N. Axioti and Kalliope Papageli; the Director of the National Archaeological Museum Olga Tzachou-Alexandri; the Director of the Epigraphical Museum Konstantina Peppa-Delmouzou and Dr. Chara Karapa-Molisani; Mrs. Maria Kyrkou from the Greek Archaeological Service of the Roman Agora; Mrs. Myrtale Potamianou from the Byzantine Museum and Mrs. Eleni Manolessou from the first Ephoria of Byzantine Monuments, Mr. I.M. Chatziphotis from the Office of his Eminence the Archbishop of Athens and Mrs. Maria Gripari from the first Ephoria of Modern Monuments all helped us in many ways. The Professors Homer A. Thompson, Leslie Shear Jr., John McK. Camp, Miss Alison Frantz and Mrs. Jan Jordan (formerly Diamant) from the Agora Excavations, and Dr. Charles K. Williams from the Corinth Excavations as well as the whole staffs of the Agora and Corinth excavations gave us every possible assistance. We owe the permission to publish the excellent plans of John Travlos to the Agora excavations; for the cover illustration we are indebted to the Agora excavation's photographer Craig Mauzy. Additional photographs were provided by Dr. Maria Aurenhammer from the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna, others by the German Archaeological Institute at Athens.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Georgios Dontas, now President of the Archaeological Society, for having supported our activity in general and for having given us the permission to study and publish new material from his excavation of the House of Proclus. The archaeological finds from this excavation were photographed by Aristoteles Anagnostou.

We also wish to thank the many colleagues who have helped us in many ways, not the least the directors, scholars and officials of various Ephorias and Archaeological Institutes at Athens. We wish to mention here especially Professors Stephen G. Miller and William Coulson for their kind concern, as well as the directors and officials of the Library of the French School, and the Blegen and Gennadios Libraries. Prof. Filippo Coarelli from the University of Perugia, Prof. Paul Zanker from the University of Munich, Dr. Hans Rupprecht Goette from the German Archaeological Institute and Dr. Sara Aleshire and Dr. John Mansfield from the Americal School for Classical Studies all have helped us in different ways. Also our Scandinavian – especially Swedish – and Italian and Australian neighbours in Makriyanni, Prof. Robin Hägg, Dr. Berit Wells, Dr. Gullög Nordquist; Prof. Antonino di Vita, Dr. Alberto Benvenuti and Dr. John Papadopoulos have supported us during this work. Mrs. Maria Martzoukou, the secretary of the Finnish Institute at Athens, deserves special thanks for her kind and efficient work during all phases of this research.

We wish to thank also our Finnish colleagues for their constant concern, in particular Professors Eva Margareta Steinby from the Finnish Institute in Rome and Jaakko Frösén from the Academy of Finland. The Board of the Finnish Institute at Athens deserves

special thanks for having accepted our work as the first volume of the new scientific series of the Institute, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, and its secretary Mr. Antti Arjava for efficient co-operation.

The English text of the articles has been patiently checked by Mrs. Margaret Whiting (Paavo Castrén), Prof. Henry Fullenwider (Erkki Sironen), by Mrs. Brenda Conrad, Athens (Julia Burman and Gunnar af Hällström), and by Mr. John Calton (Arja Karivieri). The laborious task of technically editing the articles in their final form and uniforming the note system was carried out with great attention and admirable patience by Mr. Sakari Pankkonen.

Epigraphic Conventions

The Leiden system with a few adjustments has been used in editing the inscriptions in this volume:

[αβ]	= letters restored by the editor as once having been inscribed but now lost
{αβ}	= superfluous letters added in error by the stonecutter and excised by the editor
⟨α β⟩	= letters added by the author which the stonecutter has either omitted or for which he has by error inscribed other letters
(αβ)	= letters which complete words left in abbreviation in the text
⟦αβ⟧	= letters deliberately erased in antiquity
⟦--⟧	= spaces deliberately erased in antiquity
α̣β̣	= letters of which sufficient traces remain to print them in the text but not enough to exclude other possible readings
αβ	= letters printed in the cited edition, which subsequently have been lost
[--*ca.* 6--]	= lost or illegible letters the amount of which can be estimated
[----]	= in cases where the number of lost letters is less than five, the estimation is indicated by an equal number of dashes
[-----]	= lost or illegible letters of an uncertain number
v	= one uninscribed letter-space (not accounted for in poetic texts, if each verse is carved on one line)
vacat	= five or more uninscribed letter-spaces (not accounted for in poetic texts, if each verse is carved on one line)
|	= the start of a new line on the stone where the text has not been printed in the same configuration as on the stone
H.	= Height (in metres)
W.	= Width (in metres)
T.	= Thickness (in metres)
LH.	= Letter height (in metres)

NOTE: Since no photographs are provided for the studied inscriptions, it has been endeavoured to present them in a way that is faithful to their configuration on the stone. This is reflected in the excessive use of the symbol *vvv* and *vacat*.

Kirchner's *IG* II/III^2 has been adopted as the basis for cited editions. If the inscription is not included in Kirchner, a reference is given to the best easily available edition of the text, together with an inventory number and *SEG* reference, whenever available.

Periodicals & Abbreviations

AA	=	*Archäologischer Anzeiger,* (Supplementary to *JDAI*), Berlin 1889–.
AAArch	=	*Athens Annals of Archaeology,* Athens 1968–.
ABSA	=	*Annual of the British School at Athens,* London 1895–.
ABull	=	*The Art Bulletin,* (Quarterly), New York 1919–.
AD	=	*'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον,* Athens 1889–1892 and 1915–.
AE	=	*'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς,* Athens 1837–.
Aegyptus	=	*Aegyptus.* Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirilogia, Milano 1920–.
AEpigr	=	*L'Année épigraphique,* Paris 1888–.
Agora	=	*The Athenian Agora.* Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1953–.
AJA	=	*American Journal of Archaeology,* 2nd Series, Princeton 1897–.
AJPh	=	*American Journal of Philology,* Baltimore 1880–.
AJug	=	*Archaeologia Jugoslavica,* Belgrade 1954–.
AncSoc	=	*Ancient Society,* Louvain 1970–.
AncW	=	*The Ancient World,* Chicago 1978–.
AnnEpigr	=	*L'Année épigraphique,* Paris 1888–.
ANRW	=	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.* Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung, Berlin 1972–.
AP	=	*Anthologia Palatina = Anthologia Graeca,* ed. H.Beckby, Munich 1957–1958.
AR	=	*Archaeological Reports,* (Supplementary to *JHS*), London 1955–.
Archaiologia	=	*'Αρχαιολογία,* (Quarterly), Athens 1981–.
ASAA	=	*Annuario della (Regia) scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni Italiane in oriente,* Rome 1914–.
ASCSANews	=	*American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Newsletter.* Princeton 1977–.
Athenaeum	=	*Athenaeum.* Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità, Pavia 1913–.
AW	=	*Antike Welt,* Zurich 1970–.
BAC	=	*Bullettino di archeologia cristiana,* Rome 1863–.
BASOR	=	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad,* Baltimore 1919–.
BCAR	=	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma.* L'Erma di Bretschneider, Rome 1872–.
BCH	=	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique,* Paris 1877–.
BEpigr	=	*Bulletin épigraphique,* (in *REG*), Paris 1938–.

BullAIEMA = *Bulletin d'information de l'Association internationale pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique,* Paris 1968–.

Byzantion = *Byzantion.* Revue internationale des Études byzantines, Paris–Liège 1924–.

ByzZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* Leipzig 1892–.

CArch = *Cahiers archéologiques.* Fin de l'antiquité et Moyen âge, Paris 1947–.

CCAB = *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina,* Ravenna 1955–.

CHI III = *Cambridge History of Iran, III 1–2. The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods,* ed. E.Yarshater, Cambridge 1983.

Chiron = *Chiron.* Mitteilungen der Komission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Munich 1971–.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* Berlin 1862–.

CJ = *Codex Iustinianus* (see also Bibliography of Ancient Authors).

CLRE = *Consuls of Later Roman Empire,* eds. R.S.Bagnall–Alan Cameron–S.R.Schwartz–K.A.Worp, (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36), Atlanta, Ga. 1987.

Corinth = *Corinth.* Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Cambridge, Mass.–Princeton 1929–.

CPh = *Classical Philology,* Chicago 1906–.

CTh = *Codex Theodosianus* (see also Bibliography of Ancient Authors).

DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* eds. F.Cabrol–H.Leclerq, Paris 1907–1953.

Denkschriften ÖAWPh = *Denkschriften der (Kaiserl.) Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse,* Vienna 1850–.

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* New York 1941–.

DPAC I = *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane,* vol. I, ed. A.Di Berardino, Casale Monferrato 1983.

EAE = *Excavaciones Arqueologicas en España* 121: Itálica (Santiponce Sevilla), Madrid 1982.

ECOE = *Early Christianity, Origins and Evolution to A.D. 600,* ed. I.Hazlett, London 1991.

EEC = *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* ed. in chief E.Ferguson, New York–London 1990.

ER 2 = *Encyclopedia of Religion,* ed. in chief M.Eliade, vol. 2, New York 1987.

Ergon = *Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας,* Athens 1954–.

Erytheia = *Erytheia.* Madrid Asociacion Cultural Hispano-Helenica, Madrid 1982–.

Gallia = *Gallia.* Fouilles et Monuments archéologiques en France métropolitaine, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris 1943–.

Gerión = *Gerión*. (Editorial de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Madrid 1983–.

GIBM = *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, III,2, ed. E.L.Hicks, Oxford 1890.

Gnomon = *Gnomon*. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft, Munich 1924–.

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958–.

GRRE = *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*. Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium, eds. S.Walker–Averil Cameron, (Bulletin Supplement 55), London 1989.

Hesperia = *Hesperia*. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Cambridge, Mass. 1932–.

Historia = *Historia*. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte, Wiesbaden 1950–.

HLBull = *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Cambridge, Mass. 1947–.

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem 1950–.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–.

IGRR = R.Cagnat–J.Toutain–P.Jovgvet–G.Lafaye (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Chicago 1975 (= Paris 1906–1927).

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H.Dessau, Berlin 1892–1916.

IPByz = *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin*. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome 78, (Rome, 12–14 mai 1982), Paris 1984.

Isthmia = *Isthmia*. Results of Excavations Conducted by the University of Chicago, Princeton 1971–.

JA = *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1822–.

JDAI = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin 1886–.

JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. The Egypt Exploration Society, London 1914–.

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London 1880–.

JÖAI = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vienna 1898–.

JÖByz = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, Graz 1951–.

JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Ann Arbor 1988–.

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*, London 1911–.

JSAH = *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Society of Architectural Historians, Department of Art, Amherst 1941–.

Kokalos = *Κώκαλος*. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia antica dell'Università di Palermo, Palermo 1955–.

MAAR = *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Rome 1917–.

MDAI(A) = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung)*, Berlin 1876–.

MGH(AA) = *Monumenta Germaniae historica (auctores antiquissimi)*, ed. *Societas aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medii aevii* Berlin 1877–.

Muse = *Muse*. Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia, Mo. 1967–.
NJP = *Neue Jahrbücher für Pädagogik*, 1898–.
NTh = *Novellae Theodosianae* (see Bibliography of Ancient Authors: *Codex Theodosianus* (transl. Pharr (1952)))
OCD = *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*^{2}, eds. N.G.L.Hammond–H.H.Scullard, London 1970.
ORom = *Opuscula Romana*. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom), Lund 1954–.
PAAH = *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, Athens 1872–.
PAPhS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia 1838–.
PBSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*, London 1902–.
PCPhS = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, New Series, London–Cambridge 1950/1951–.
PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Graeca*, ed. J.-P.Migne, Paris 1857–1904.
PGSRE = *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, eds. M.Henig–A.King, (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 8), Oxford 1986.
Phoenix = *The Phoenix*. The Journal of the Ontario Classical Association, Toronto 1946/1947–.
PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Latina*, ed. J.-P.Migne, Paris 1844–1890.
PLRE I = A.H.M.Jones–J.R.Martindale–J.Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I, A.D. 260–395*, Cambridge 1971.
PLRE II = J.R.Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, II, A.D. 395–527*, Cambridge 1980.
PO = *Patrologia orientalis*, eds. R.Graffin–F.Nau–F.Greffin, Paris 1907–.
Polemon = *Πολέμων*. Ἀρχαιολογικὸν περιοδικόν, Athens 1929–.
POxy. = *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, eds. B.P.Grenfell and A.S.Hunt, London 1898–.
RBPh = *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, Brussels 1922–.
RE = G.Wissowa–W.Kroll–K.Mittelhaus (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894–1980.
REG = *Revue des Études Grecques*, Paris 1888–.
RhM = *Rheinisches Museum (für Philologie)*, Frankfort 1842–1920.
RLAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt, ed. in chief Th.Klauser, Stuttgart 1950–.
RLByz = *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1966–.
SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Munich 1860–.
SCO = *Studi Classici e Orientali*, Pisa 1951–.
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Amsterdam 1923–.
SGLG = *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, Gothenburg 1955–.

SJM	=	*Studies in John Malalas,* eds. E.Jeffreys(–B.Croke–R.Scott), (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990.
SJR	=	*The St. John's Review,* Annapolis 1960–.
TAPhS	=	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* Philadelphia 1769–.
TIB	=	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini,* Band 1. Hellas und Thessalia, in Denkschriften ÖAWPh 125 (1976).
T&MByz	=	*Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines,* Paris 1965–.
Traditio	=	*Traditio,* Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion, New York 1943–.
VS	=	*Vitae Sophistarum* (see Bibliography of Ancient Authors: Eunapius).
WBM	=	*Women and Byzantine Monasticism, Les Femmes et le Monachisme Byzantin,* eds. J.Y.Perreault–E.Koubena–M.Toli, (Publications of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens 1), Athens 1991.
WZRostock	=	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der (Wilhelm-Pieck-)Universität Rostock.* Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Rostock 1951–.
YClS	=	*Yale Classical Studies,* New Haven, Conn. 1928–.
ZDADL	=	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur,* Berlin 1845–.
ZPE	=	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* Bonn 1967–.

Paavo Castrén

General Aspects of Life in Post-Herulian Athens

Recovery

After the raid of A.D. 267 the so-called Post-Herulian Wall was built, at least in part, by the Proconsul Claudius Illyrius,[1] and the traditionally flourishing pottery industry of Athens soon resumed its activity.[2] This would have been impossible inside the small enceinte and, in fact, the potters returned soon to their old workshops in the Cerameicus area.[3] The new wall was probably intended to create just a temporary refuge such as the similar, contemporary wall around the most essential places in Olympia,[4] where works of art and other valuables could be stored in times of strife or when there were not enough troops to defend the whole town wall. Whether the Post-Herulian Wall enclosed also the Acropolis and at least parts of the Theatre of Dionysus as well as the temple of Asclepius still seems to be a controversial question, although in the light of recent studies, a positive answer seems to be more plausible.[5] If it did, it changes the traditional view of life in fourth century Athens considerably: perhaps some of the most important buildings of the town did not need extensive restoration in the fourth century because they had not been

1 See the discussion in Sironen, no. **2.**
2 Perlzweig (1961), 9, 20; Rügler in Rügler and Knigge (1989), 84 ff; for the lamp export, see for example Sodini in Abadie-Reynal and Sodini (1992), 89.
3 Rügler (1990), 282 and note 17.
4 Mallwitz (1972), 110–113.
5 Korres (1980), 18–20.

seriously damaged. An interesting detail is the fact that the construction of the wall was recorded in two inscriptions in verse, the first one of which was rather elaborate in its diction,[6] a fact which may suggest that classical culture still was very much respected.

The most influential Athenians of the late third century seem to have been the benefactor, archon, priest and historian Publius Herennius Dexippus, son of Ptolemaeus, from the deme of Hermus, and his family,[7] the abovementioned proconsul, member of Areopagus and benefactor Claudius Illyrius, whose father had already been an archon and his grandfather a proconsul, and probably also Marcus Iunius Minucianus[8] who took charge of the erection of a statue in Claudius Illyrius' honour. It is not known how they had acquired their wealth but inherited land property remains the most plausible explanation.

The "Library of Hadrian"

The identification and function of the complex known as the "Library of Hadrian" has lately aroused a lot of curiosity.[9] I agree with the scholars who have seen in it a kind of Imperial Forum, modelled after the Forum Pacis of Vespasian in Rome.[10] I think, however, that its function as a "cultural centre" or "library" in the literal sense of the word has to be reconsidered. It is easy to see that a preconceived opinion in this sense has influenced even the translations of the section of Pausanias' work describing Hadrian's building activity in Athens.[11] In my opinion it is reasonable to start examining the problem from two points of view: Since the Forum Pacis of Vespasian is the model of the "Library of Hadrian", what was the practical function of the Forum Pacis? And since it is certain that Hadrian had constructed the complex in question, it would be important to know whether he had built similar complexes in other towns.

It has escaped the attention of many scholars involved in the investigation of the problem that already more than a century ago it had been suggested that the offices of the urban prefect occupied at least a part of the Forum Pacis,[12] a construction originally destined to celebrate the virtues of the *gens Flavia*.[13] Obviously that is why the *Forma urbis*, the marble map of Rome, was placed just there. The existing fragments come from the copy of the map restored by Septimius Severus after the fire of A.D. 192,[14] but it is well known that an earlier copy existed.[15] In the Forum Pacis the map was fastened to a wall of a building known as a "library", which actually was the seat of the cadastral archives of the town.[16]

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6 Compare Sironen, nos. **4.** and **5.**

7 See, above all, Millar (1969).

8 See also Clinton (1989), 1535 for a letter of the Emperor Gallienus mentioning Minucianus.

9 See the discussion below, in Karivieri's first article, note 4.

10 Already Colini (1937), 7–40; Shear (1981) 375 f; see also the whole discussion below in Karivieri's first article, Chapter II.

11 See the examples quoted by Karivieri in her first article, Chapter I.

12 De Rossi (1867), 64; Urlichs (1870), 473; Jordan (1874), 9; Lanciani (1892). Recently the question has been brought up for discussion by Coarelli (1986), 23–24. In the meantime only G. Gatti (in Carettoni–Colini–Cozza–Gatti (1960), 214–215) had seen the connection.

13 Its original name was Templum Pacis; see the discussion in Coarelli (1974), 132 ff.

14 G. Catti, in Carettoni–Colini–Cozza–Gatti (1960), 213–214.

15 Coarelli (1991).

16 Gatti in Carettoni–Colini–Cozza–Gatti (1960), 216 ff.

Hadrian seems to have constructed similar complexes, originally destined for the Imperial Cult, in different parts of the Empire, for instance the so-called Trajaneum in his and Trajan's native town of Italica,[17] and the "Library of Hadrian" in his "spiritual home town" of Athens. As to the function of the Athenian complex, however, Filippo Coarelli has suggested in a recently published article that the closest parallel would be the Library of Hadrian in Alexandria which according to papyrus sources had been built around A.D. 127 and where the central state archives were deposited.[18] According to the source, the Alexandrian library had been built "for this very purpose of preventing the concealment of any irregularities" in the cadastral documentation in Egypt.[19] In fact there existed in Alexandria two different state archives, the older of which, the *Nanaion,* was situated in the temple of Isis Nanaia, that is the Babylonian goddess Nana identified with Isis. The other, the Library of Hadrian, was housed in a construction which perhaps only later was known as *Hadrianeion* or the temple of the Divine Hadrian. In cases of dispute the Library of Hadrian had a prior status over the *Nanaion*.[20]

It is tempting to suggest that Hadrian would have built a similar complex in his favourite town of Athens to celebrate his own virtues and to house the central archives of the whole province of Achaea.

It is a well known fact that there also existed in Athens another temple which was used as the official archives of the town until its destruction by the Heruli,[21] the Metroön in the Old Bouleuterion in the Agora.[22] Just as in Alexandria, Hadrian was not satisfied with the old archives of the *Nanaion,* but established a new one in the temple destined for the Imperial Cult. He wanted another "library" also in Athens to house all the cadastral documents of the province, previously perhaps split between several different archives. And as in Alexandria, these new archives found a seat in the complex destined for the Imperial Cult.

Thus it would also be understandable that a Latin inscription from the end of the third century A.D. recording a *corrector provinciae Achaiae* was found near the complex. *Corrector* was a senior senatorial official whom the Emperors from Trajan onwards customarily sent to regulate the affairs of the free cities, if these were not satisfactory.[23] Diocletian, who degraded the status of Achaea to the lowest rank of provinces in 293,[24] evidently only some years earlier had appointed a senator, Lucius Turranius Gratianus, to the rank of *corrector Achaiae* probably to restore the cadastral archives which had suffered in the Herulian raid.[25] It is all the more interesting that this same *corrector* is known to have functioned as the urban prefect of Rome, that is just in the offices situated in the Forum Pacis, soon after having finished his work in Greece, in A.D. 290.[26] This is more evidence in favour of our theory that many consequences of the Herulian raid were

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17 See below, Karivieri's first article, Chapter II.

18 Coarelli (1991); compare *POxy.* I, 34 (verso), an edict of the prefect of Egypt Flavius Titianus, with the commentary of Grenfell and Hunt; Flore (1927), 43–88; the theory was tentatively touched also by Sisson (1929), 64–66; Burkhalter (1990), 191–209.

19 *POxy.* I, 34, col. II; Coarelli (1991), 80 and note 45 quotes two examples of the cadastral documents kept in the Library of Hadrian in Alexandria (*POxy.* II, 237 and *POxy.* XII, 1473).

20 Cockle (1984), 117.

21 Frantz (1988), 25.

22 Camp (1986), 91–94.

23 See Pliny the Younger, *Epistula* 8.24 for a similar case during the reign of Trajan.

24 Groag (1946), 13; below, Sironen, no. **7.**

25 Cadastral archives seem to have suffered often in times of strife. They may have been intentionally destroyed to make the taxation more difficult.

26 Groag (1946), 14–15; below, Sironen, no. **6.**

quickly and efficiently repaired and that the "Library of Hadrian" had been restored and was in use as a sanctuary for the Imperial Cult and as the official archives also in the fourth century.[27]

Learned Activities

Different cultural activities flourished in Athens in the late third and fourth centuries, including the rhetorical and sophistical schools. After only a brief lapse following the raid, the educational activity seems to have returned to normal. Several teachers were active in the city at the time of the Herulian raid, *e.g.* Eubulus, leader of the Platonic school in Plotinus' time,[28] and Cassius Longinus, philosopher, grammarian and rhetor, who led the Academy until *ca.* 267 when he fled to Queen Zenobia in Palmyra. There the Emperor Aurelianus had him killed around 272.[29] One of his students was the Phoenician Porphyrius (*ca.* A.D. 233–302) who spent the rest of his life in Rome studying there under Plotinus and continuing after Plotinus' death to teach his doctrines.[30]

At about the same time Callinicus (who in some sources is also called Su(e)torius), a sophist in Athens, son of Gaius, who originally came from Petra, gave a speech in honour of the Emperor Gallienus.[31] He is probably identifiable with the sophist Callinicus who was murdered later near the Euphrates in a place which subsequently was called Callinicum after him.[32]

According to Eusebius (*ca.* A.D. 263–339), there existed in Athens a circle of philosophers or sophists which included Cassius Longinus, Nicagoras, Maior, Apollonius, Callietes, Demetrius and Prosenes who used to celebrate annually Socrates' and Plato's birthdays.[33] Of these at least Nicagoras, son of Minucianus, was still active in Athens in the early fourth century.[34] Through his wife, Himerius also belonged to the followers of this circle and continued its traditions. He was one of the many who withdrew from Athens through fear of the tremendous Prohaeresius. The sophist and teacher Agapetus and the rhetor Minucianus, son of the rhetor Nicagoras who flourished in Athens in the first half of the third century, are known as the teachers of Genethlius.[35] Genethlius, son of Genethlius from Petra, was active as a sophist in Athens in the late third and early fourth centuries. He was a competitor of Callinicus but died when only 28 years old.[36] Another contemporary of Callinicus and Genethlius was the sophist Tlepolemus whose fame persuaded Libanius to continue his studies in Athens.[37] However, the best known of the Athenian sophists was the Cappadocian Julianus, who is said to have excelled among others the contemporary rhetors Apsines and Epagathus.[38]

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27 Compare below, Karivieri's first article, Chapter IV. with notes.
28 Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini* 15, line 20.
29 For the life and death of Longinus, see Longinus, *Ars rhetorica* (ed. Hammer (1884), 179–207); Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini* 14, lines 19–20; Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* X.3.1; Eunapius 4.1, lines 2–3 and 5; Flavius Vopiscus, *Aurelianus* 30.3; Zosimus I.56; *Suda, s.v.* Longinus.
30 Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini* 7, line 50; 20, line 91; Eunapius 4.1, line 2; *Suda, s.v.* Porphyrios.
31 *Suda, s.v.* Callinicus; Jerome *in Danielem, prologus.*
32 Libanius, *Epistula* 21.
33 Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* X.3.1.
34 See Fowden (1987).
35 *Suda, s.v.* Genethlius; *id., s.v.* Minucianus.
36 *Id., s.v.* Genethlius.
37 Libanius, *Oratio* I.11–12.
38 Eunapius 9.1, line 1.

His pupils, who contended seriously with the pupils of Apsines, included Prohaeresius, Hephaestion, Epiphanius, Diophantus and the rhetor Tuscianus.[39] He used to give private lectures in his house, which he later bequeathed to his favourite pupil Prohaeresius.[40] After Julianus six sophists were appointed as his successors, but some of them withdrew from Athens because Prohaeresius had become so outstanding.[41] Jealous competitors once had Prohaeresius expelled from Athens, but he was soon recalled[42] and highly honoured by the Emperor Constans,[43] who bequeathed Athens some corn yielding islands in his honour.[44] A statue of him was erected in Rome, and the Emperor even granted him the honorary title of στρατοπεδάρχης, *praefectus castrorum* (?).[45] Under Julian he lost or resigned his official post because he was a Christian,[46] but later he regained his auctority and died around 366/7 as a very old man, probably in the house which he had inherited from his teacher, the sophist Julianus.

The vivid student life of the fourth century in Athens is reflected best by Libanius who studied there under Diophantus in the 330's[47] but later, when he was offered a chair there in the 350's, did not want to stay there "because he did not want to decay together with the town".[48] On the other hand, he describes how the teachers used all available means to enrol as many new students as possible.[49] Among these were the future Emperor Julian (although only for a short time), Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus and Priscus, who later accompanied the Emperor Julian on his last expedition and was present when he died.[50] The rhetor Diophantus recruited pupils actively from Arabia, where he himself came from, and the sophist Epiphanius recruited entirely from the East,[51] but at least the former also kidnapped students from other teachers.[52] Among the students of the fourth century there are an exceptional number of Arabians from Petra. This list of the Athenian sophists and rhetors of the fourth century, which is by no means complete, is sufficient to prove that the scholarly activity was in the long run not greatly affected by the Herulian raid.[53]

It is perhaps only a peculiarity of our sources that almost all the known personalities of fourth-century at Athens belonged to the class of sophists, rhetors and other teachers. The Athenian pottery was again well established in the market, and the numerous teachers and students needed provisions which only the neighbouring countryside of Attica or the nearby islands could supply. Without doubt this provided the living for a large class of landowners and farm hands. For instance the future philosopher Aedesius had been sent to Athens at the beginning of the fourth century by his family from Cappadocia to earn a living by other means than by studying philosophy, which he did.[54]

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39 *Id.* 9.1, line 3.
40 *Id.* 9.1, line 4.
41 *Id.* 10.3, lines 9–13.
42 *Id.* 10.3, line 15–10.4, line 1.
43 *Id.* 10.7, lines 1–2.
44 *Id.* 10.7, line 5.
45 *Id.* 10.7, line 4–5.
46 Jerome, *Chronicon, sub anno* 362.
47 Libanius, *Oratio* I.16–25; Eunapius 16.1, lines 2–3.
48 Libanius, *Oratio* I.82 ff.
49 Eunapius 16.1, line 2.
50 Ammianus Marcellinus XXV.3.23; Libanius, *Oratio* XVII.272.
51 Eunapius 10.3, line 12.
52 *Id.* 16.1, line 2; Libanius, *Oratio* I.16 and 85.
53 See also Millar (1969), 16 ff.
54 Eunapius 6.1, lines 1–3.

Some of the students and future teachers did not need to earn their living by teaching because they came originally from very wealthy families: this is true *e.g.* of Himerius, who owned large estates in Armenia and Thrace,[55] and Iamblichus, who had inherited land from his father and was able to help Athens to rebuild her town walls towards the end of the fourth century.[56] Severus, a fellow-student of Libanius, who came from Lycia, had a large income from the timber which was produced on his estates.[57] The brothers Antiochus, Axiochus and Musonius, sons of the Pamphylian-born Athenian rhetor Musonius who was *vicarius Asiae* in A.D. 367/8,[58] also seem to have been wealthy. The younger Musonius celebrated a *taurobolium* in A.D. 387.[59] Allegedly he was then a senator. Other prominent Athenians of the fourth century were the archon and president of the *panegyris*-festival Hegias, son of Timocrates,[60] who was celebrated for his generosity, and Flavius Septimius Marcellinus, another benefactor, λαμπρότατος and ex-agonothete, who from his own resources built a gateway to the Acropolis.[61] Still another long family line of rich and influential Athenians is formed by Plutarchus, the ἀρχιερεύς of Attica, ἱροπόλος of Dionysus and priest of Asclepius, who erected two statues of the god at Epidaurus in A.D. 308,[62] and his offspring (see Table 1).

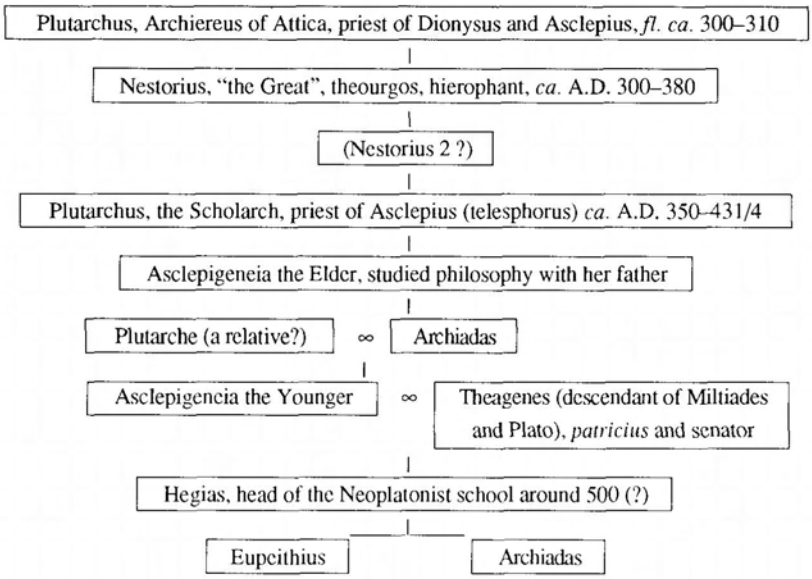
Plutarchus, Archiereus of Attica, priest of Dionysus and Asclepius, *fl. ca.* 300–310
Nestorius, "the Great", theourgos, hierophant, *ca.* A.D. 300–380
(Nestorius 2 ?)
Plutarchus, the Scholarch, priest of Asclepius (telesphorus) *ca.* A.D. 350–431/4
Asclepigeneia the Elder, studied philosophy with her father
Plutarche (a relative?)
∞
Archiadas
Asclepigeneia the Younger
∞
Theagenes (descendant of Miltiades and Plato), *patricius* and senator
Hegias, head of the Neoplatonist school around 500 (?)
Eupeithius
Archiadas

Table 1. Family tree of the Scholarch Plutarchus

55 Himerius VIII.3; VIII.22 (?); Libanius, *Epistula* 469 (Armenia).
56 See the discussion in Sironen, no. **16.**
57 Libanius, *Epistulae* 1191 and 1383.
58 Zosimus V.5.2.
59 *IG* II/III^2, no. 4842.
60 See below, Sironen, no. **11.**
61 See discussion below, in Sironen, no. **12.**
62 *IG* IV^2 1, 436–7.

His son was probably the theurgist Nestorius who performed many miracles during his long life. In Rome he executed a miraculous cure[63] and in A.D. 375, as an old man, he was said to have saved Athens from the disastrous earthquake which destroyed Corinth.[64] His son (or grandson) again was the Scholarch Plutarchus who reorganised and led the Neoplatonist school at Athens and probably built its new seat, the future House of Proclus.[65]

According to some sources,[66] Plutarchus had a son, Hierius, but it is the general opinion that he only had a daughter, Asclepigeneia (the Elder), to whom he transmitted all his knowledge.[67] Asclepigeneia had a son Archiadas, a close friend of the Scholarch Proclus, who married Plutarche (a relative?). They had a daughter Asclepigeneia the Younger who became the wife of the *patricius*, archon and senator Theagenes, the most influential Athenian of the later fifth century and a prominent figure in the whole Roman Empire.[68] Asclepigeneia and Theagenes had a son, Hegias, who probably was the head of the Neoplatonist school for a short time at the beginning of the sixth century. His abilities and reputation suffered from the fact that he was too wealthy and therefore always surrounded by sycophants.[69] He in turn had two sons, Eupeithius and Archiadas.[70]

It is a common belief that some old Athenian traditions were not continued after the raid by the Heruli.[71] According to Frantz, the Council of the Areopagus, however, lasted at least until the end of the fourth century, and the archonship until at least A.D. 485 when Proclus died and Nicagoras was recorded as the last known archon.[72] The *ephebia* is not mentioned at all after A.D. 267, and many scholars think that the whole organisation fell into oblivion. On the other hand, the reconstructed Diogeneion (if the restoration of the word is correct), the traditional headquarters of the ephebes, seems to have been in use again from around A.D. 400.[73] In another inscription, dedicated to the historian Dexippus immediately after the raid of A.D. 267, a Council of 750 members appears instead of the traditional figure of 500.[74] Later inscriptions[75] prove that in the fourth century the number of the members of the boule had dropped to 300. The reasons for these changes are not clear, but the general evasion of obligatory duties, especially in times of depression, may at least in part explain the tendency to increase the number of the persons involved.

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63 Proclus *in Rem publicam* II, 324, line 11–325, line 10.
64 Zosimus IV.18.1–4.
65 See *e.g.* Marinus, *Vita Procli* 12; Photius, *Bibliotheca* 214; *Suda, s.v.* Plutarchus and below, Karivieri's second article, Chapter VI.
66 Photius, *Bibliotheca* 242.88.
67 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 28.
68 *Id.* 29 and below, page 13.
69 Damascius, fr. 351 (=*Suda*, H 60); *id.*, fr. 353 (=*Suda*, E 3650).
70 *Id.*, fr. 352 (=*Suda*, E 3650).
71 Day (1942), 260–261.
72 Frantz (1988), 12; Marinus, *Vita Procli* 36.
73 Sironen, no. **26.**
74 Sironen, no. **1.**
75 Sironen, nos. **13.** and **18.**

Private Building Activity of the Fourth Century

In the second half of the fourth century the private building activity also seems to have become more intense. According to Miss Frantz's interpretation some pre-Herulian houses were again made habitable especially in the industrial section of the Agora northwest of the Areopagus.[76]

The comfortable villas on the slope of the Areopagus immediately above the old Agora belong to the second half of the fourth century. According to the traditional view[77] they were "philosophical schools" or residences of wealthy teachers in which they practised their activity allegedly in fear of the feud between different groups of students. Despite the doubts presented by Frantz[78] they could, in my opinion, be just fashionable "(sub)urban" villas belonging to well-to-do town dwellers. It is worth noticing that there are in Athens several similar residences from this period, and some of them had rooms suitable for lectures and libraries as well.[79] Other quite comfortable private houses were emerging in the fourth century also near the Panathenaic Way.[80] On the base of the rhetorically coloured description of the much cited locus in the *Expositio totius mundi*[81] alone, I would not be inclined to deny Athens all activities other than higher learning and tourist viewing historical monuments. The author mentions Athens and Corinth in contrast to each other in Achaea and compares their different characters: Corinth having a decisively commercial nature and boasting an outstanding amphitheatre, while Athens was content with her learning and old monuments. In my opinion the author just wanted to emphasise that Corinth had the characteristics of a normal commercial city of the *Roman* Empire, while Athens had retained her ancient *Greek* character of a centre of learning.[82]

The Emperor Julian's activity in restoring Athenian monuments, especially pagan temples allegedly ruined by the Heruli, has been emphasised by many scholars, most of all by John Travlos.[83] Although it is certain that Julian was most positively disposed towards Athens and her traditional cults and appointed a notorious pagan, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, as the Proconsul of Achaea, it does not seem possible that he would have achieved much of this kind during his short and troubled reign.[84] Elsewhere[85] we have adhered to the idea that some of the monuments which were supposedly restored by him had in fact not been very badly damaged by the Heruli.

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76 Frantz (1988), 14, 35; plates 4, 22 a.

77 Camp (1986), 202–211; Frantz (1988), 44–47; Camp (1989).

78 Frantz (1988), 46.

79 *E.g.* in Kekropos 7-9, Alexandre (1969b), 50–53, plans 19–20, pls. 45–48; Michaud (1971), 819, 821, figs. 29–39; North Slope of the Areopagus, Frantz (1988), 36-37, pls. 24 a, 25 a; Basilisses Sophias/Herodou Attikou, Spathare and Chatzare (1983), 23–25; pl. 4; possibly Makre 1/Dionysiou Areopagitou, Zafeiropoulou (1983), 19–23; pl. 19 a; and many others which at present are not exactly datable but could belong to the fourth century.

80 Frantz (1988), 36.

81 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52.

82 It is worth mentioning that just the existence of an amphitheatre was considered a manifestation of the Roman character of a town: in Naples, for instance, which for the Romans always remained a Greek town – *urbs Graeca* – there never existed an amphitheatre; see *e.g.* Lepore (1985), 115–122; Baldassarre (1985), 122–132, while Puteoli boasted two of them; see *e.g.* De Caro and Greco (1981), 39–44.

83 *E.g.* Travlos (1973).

84 See Frantz (1988), 23.

85 Sironen, Chapter I.

Vicissitudes of the End of the Fourth Century

Whether Alaric and his Visigoths occupied and sacked Athens in A.D. 395/6 is another controversial question, actually a crucial one for understanding the Late Antiquity in Athens. Some later literary sources point towards the interpretation that this was not the case,[86] and traditionally these sources have been followed.[87] But recent excavations seem to confirm the opposite, that the Visigoths sacked Athens either on their way towards the Peloponnesus or later, when they returned after having sacked the South.[88] The raid on Greece was in fact favoured by the Praetorian Prefect Rufinus, and Eunapius suggests that Alaric was accompanied by militant monks who were described as "men in the mourning dress".[89] Alaric's expedition thus does not look at all like just a normal barbarian raid but rather a well planned military campaign which probably, among other goals, intended to plunder and destroy the last pagan strongholds in Greece. This would also be reflected in the keen building activity which immediately followed the raid in Athens.

The beginning of the fifth century in Athens was indeed a period of almost unbelievable intensity in restoring old buildings and constructing new ones. And what is still more interesting, the traditional character of the city was respected by the Athenian restorers, despite the fact that, for instance in Rome, a decisive transformation from a traditional towards a Christian society had occurred during the last decades of the fourth century.[90]

The constructions of the early fifth century include among others the "Palace of the Giants", the bema of Phaedrus in the Theatre of Dionysus,[91] the sundial financed possibly by the same person,[92] the restoration of the so-called Library of Hadrian,[93] several other great villas and smaller houses all around the city,[94] the Broad Street between the old Agora and the Roman Market,[95] the "Hallenstrasse" and "Festtor" in the Cerameicus area,[96] the so-called House of Proclus on the southern slope of the Acropolis and several private and public baths especially in the southern part of the town.[97] And, in

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86 *E.g.* Zosimus 5. 5, 5–6, 3.

87 See *e.g.* Wachsmuth (1874), 715–716; Thompson in Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 208–219.

88 See *e.g.* Alexandre (1969b), 50–53 (Kekropos 7–9); Spathare and Chatzare (1983), 23–25 (Basilisses Sophias/Herodou Attikou); Catling (1987), 7–8 and Rügler in Rügler and Knigge (1989), 87–90 (Building Y at Cerameicus); French (1991), 5–6, and Shear (1991), 17 (bathing establishment north of Adrianou Street) for the recent excavations showing clear evidence of the raid by the Visigoths.

89 Eunapius 7.3–5.

90 See *e.g.* Krautheimer (1980), 39 ff.

91 Frantz (1982) and the discussion in Sironen, no. **27.**

92 Below, in Sironen, no. **28.**

93 Below, in Karivieri's first article, Chapter IV.

94 *E.g.* the building above the Library of Pantainos, Frantz (1988), 67, 117, 119; Camp (1986), 200–202, 213–4; building remains in Thoukydidou in Plaka, Basilopoulou (1983) 16–18, pl. 18; the house in the SW corner of the Agora area, Frantz (1988), 36, pl. 23 d; the southern villa-gymnasium of the National Park, Spiro (1978), 54–58, figs. 58–61; the great house in the NE corner of the National Park (Basilisses Sophias/Herodou Attikou), Spathare and Chatzare (1983), 23–25; the house with mosaics (now in the entrance of the Byzantine Museum) in the corner of Dionysiou Areopagitou/Propylaion, Alexandre (1969a), 32–38, pls. 40–41; the newly-discovered house in Makre 1/Dionysiou Areopagitou, Zafeiropoulou (1983) 19–23, pl. 19 a; *etc.*

95 Frantz (1988), 67.

96 See, most lately, Rügler (1990).

97 See *e.g.* Dontas (1961–1962a), 87–89: a bath in the Dionysiou Areopagitou/Parthenonos/Kallisperi-area, which could belong to the complex of the "House of Proclus".

fact, the so-called Gymnasium in the old Academy is perhaps just another of these great villas, as Dr. Judith Binder once very convincingly suggested to me.

Several persons have been pointed out as the instigators of this fervid building activity: Herculius, the Praetorian Prefect of the very first years of the fifth century, is Miss Frantz's champion,[98] while the Empress Eudocia is supported by others.[99] Only a few examples of all this building activity will be examined here.

The "Palace of the Giants"

The "Palace of the Giants" was constructed on top of the ruins of the Odeum built by Agrippa and restored in the second century A.D. after a collapse of its wide wooden roof.[100] The Palace, which originally was called a Gymnasium,[101] or even the University of Athens,[102] by the excavators, stands in the ancient Agora which allegedly had been abandoned or given over to industrial activity for over a century.[103] In my opinion this palace is a great "(sub)urban villa", quite typical of the period. In fact, similar villas had been built in and near Rome, in the countryside of Italy and in the western provinces from the beginning of the fourth century, when the situation again became safer after the turmoils of the third century.[104] Such palaces as those of Piazza Armerina[105] and a couple of others in Sicily can be mentioned as parallels as well as the great villa in Montmaurin in Southern Gaul,[106] which in my view most resembles the "Palace of the Giants". Similar villas were also constructed in Rome itself, in the areas inside the walls which were being abandoned in the fourth century by the diminishing population.[107] By this I mean to suggest that the "Palace of the Giants" was in no way unusual except that it was some decades later than its best known western parallels and that it was much bigger than its known counterparts in Greece. In most of the abovementioned palaces there are façades resembling triumphal arches, large "ceremonial courts", *thermae,* residential areas including kitchens, large spaces perhaps reserved for public use, and several analogies in details. The fact that the "ceremonial courts" are not similar in shape, is without doubt due to differences of the terrain in question or to the need to make use of existing constructions. In some parallel palaces the functions of different rooms can quite safely be determined on the basis of extant mosaic floors. Unfortunately this is not the case with the

98 See *e.g.* Frantz (1969) and Frantz (1988), 63–66. Compare also below, pages 11–12.

99 See below, Sironen, no. **33.** with note 220 and Burman, Chapter IV, and Fowden (1990), 497–499.

100 In the tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium in 1986 F. A. Cooper presented an interesting paper "Building Projects at Athens in the Age of Julius Caesar and Augustus", in which he proposed that the Odeum in the Agora is not the one built by Agrippa, but a later, original second century A.D. construction. The Odeum of Agrippa would instead be the one known as the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. Unfortunately, this important paper was not published in the British Museum Bulletin in which most of the other articles appeared. As far as I know, it has not been published later, either.

101 *E.g.* Camp (1986), 200.

102 Frantz (1975), 32–33.

103 Camp (1986), 198.

104 See *e.g.* Percival (1976); Mielsch (1987), 90 ff. for Late Antiquity; Ellis (1991).

105 Carandini–Ricci–de Vos (1982); Wilson (1983).

106 Fouet (1969); *id.* (1986); see fig. 34.

107 Krautheimer (1980), 16 ff.

"Palace of the Giants" since, as far as it is known, no sufficient traces of mosaic floors have been discovered in its rooms.[108]

The alleged building activity of the Empress Eudocia in Athens has been extensively treated below by my two colleagues Julia Burman and Arja Karivieri.[109] Mrs. Burman shares the opinion of Homer A. Thompson that the "Palace of the Giants" would have been an official residence,[110] adding that its construction was perhaps instigated by the Empress whose dedicatory inscription was discovered nearby.[111] This is undoubtedly a possibility although it disturbs one a little that an official residence of various kinds has been the first interpretation almost every time a late luxurious villa or palace has been discovered in the provinces.[112] Additional evidence has often made it clear that the first impression has not been correct, but instead the owner has turned out to belong to the class of senatorial landowners. It has in fact too often been forgotten how thoroughly Roman society had changed in course of the third-fourth centuries A.D. Many senators of the new generation never even visited Rome or Constantinople, and tended instead to retire from the towns to their estates in the countryside of Italy or in the provinces. There they spent their time as almost sovereign rulers in the company of artists or philosophers while their bailiffs collected the taxes from the tenantry.[113] Only in cases of need did they represent their tenants in the Imperial Court just as the patron saints later were supposed to represent them in Heaven. Under these circumstances it is not often easy to distinguish between the residence of an officially appointed magistrate or a villa or palace of a local magnate.

The taxes of the inhabitants of the province of Achaea were significantly relieved in the 420's.[114] This might have eased the economic position of the landowners of Attica who had existed before and who to some extent must have existed also in the earlier fifth century as they appear again in the later fifth century when we again have more adequate contemporary sources.[115] Also the fact that other luxurious villas and palaces were being constructed at the same time all around Athens and its neighbourhood strengthens this hypothesis that the "Palace of the Giants" could be a splendid private residence. The marks of incompletion in the construction[116] could perhaps support this theory.

It is worth noting that in constructing the "Palace of the Giants", the site of the Temple of Ares was still respected[117] and, in fact, at my initiative Dr. Judith Binder was kind enough to check the excavation journal and found out that at least a great number of the blocks which could have belonged to this temple and which were used in the Post-Herulian Wall, turned out to belong to later repairs of the Wall.

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108 Thompson (1988), 106–108 and pls. 63 a–b suggest that mosaic flooring was instead used in the first floor of the palace which, accordingly, would have been the *piano nobile*. However, these traces are also quite insignificant.

109 See below, Burman, Chapter IV. and Karivieri's first article, Chapter VII.

110 In Frantz (1988), 111 f.

111 See below, in Burman, Chapter IV.

112 Compare, for instance, the entire discussion concerning the Palace of Piazza Armerina, *e.g.* Ragona (1962); Kähler (1973); Di Vita (1972–1973), 251 ff.; Picard (1972–1973), 108 ff.; Dunbabin (1978); Carandini–Ricci–de Vos (1982); Wilson (1983).

113 Mazzarino (1951), 26 f.; Ruggini (1961), 85 f.; Brown (1976), 34–36.

114 *CTh* XI.1.33; compare below, Burman, Chapter III. "Eudocia and Politics" h).

115 *E.g.* for Theagenes and his family, see below, page 13.

116 Thompson (1988), 108–109.

117 *Id.*, 97 and note 9.

Later Phases of the "Library of Hadrian"

It has been suggested above that the cadastral archives of the province of Achaea were housed in the "Library of Hadrian", a complex which contemporarily was dedicated to the Imperial Cult.[118] If the archives were destroyed by or during the raid by the Visigoths of Alaric, it would be understandable that the Praetorian Prefect Herculius would have wanted to repair the building soon after the raid. That is perhaps why two monuments commemoratng his activity as the "treasurer of laws", "defender of laws" were dedicated to him at Athens.[119] If the archives were intentionally destroyed by Alaric's troops or by the inhabitants themselves, the character of the raid acquires new dimensions in the political conflicts of the period.[120]

It is equally logical that the devoutly Christian imperial family of the early fifth century would have wanted to transform the central part of the complex into Christian use.[121]

The "House of Proclus"

The Scholarch of the Academy Plutarchus[122] constructed the large villa on the south slope of the Acropolis where his successors lived and taught and which later became known as the House of Proclus.[123]

The question, whether there were in Athens simultaneously two wealthy namesakes, one of whom was Plutarchus the philosopher[124] and the other Plutarchus the sophist,[125] needs further investigation. Previously I have been of the opinion that the philosopher and the wealthy benefactor who three times financed the Panathenaic procession were namesakes and contemporaries,[126] and in publishing the inscriptions in which these names occur Sironen seems to agree with me.[127] One important message of these inscriptions is, however, the information that Panathenaic processions were still organised at the beginning of the fifth century, while this seems to have been impossible about half a century later.[128]

In my opinion it is reasonably sure that the ruin discovered in the 1950's under Dionysiou Areopagitou Street is indeed identifiable as the House of Proclus which, according to Marinus, had belonged to Syrianus and Plutarchus before Proclus, as I have already suggested in my review of Miss Frantz's book.[129] In that review I also pointed out that Miss Frantz had unintentionally misquoted a chapter from the Life of Proclus by Marinus, omitting one important word, which made the identification of the construction

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118 See above, page 13, and below, Karivieri's first article, Chapter IV. with notes.
119 See below, Sironen, nos. **31.** and **32.**
120 See above, page 9 and note 87.
121 See the discussion in Karivieri's first article, Chapters V.–VII.
122 See above, Table 1.
123 See below, Karivieri's second article, Chapter I.
124 The abovementioned scholarch of the Academy who built the so-called House of Proclus.
125 See the discussion in Sironen, nos. **29.–31.**
126 Castrén (1989), 47.
127 Sironen, no **29.** with notes.
128 See below, page 13.
129 Castrén (1991).

in question more difficult.[130] The house would have been built by Plutarchus at the beginning of the fifth century and owned by successive scholarchs of the Academy. From the point of view of chronology and architecture this hypothesis does not contradict the archaeological evidence, although other interpretations, such as its interpretation as another great villa of the period, could also be possible.

The problems concerning the "House of Proclus" have occupied the members of our team to a great extent. This is understandable because parts of the construction lie practically underneath the residence of the director of the Finnish Institute. Furthermore, Dr. Georgios Dontas was kind enough to give us permission to study the unpublished material of Meliades' and his excavation of the 1950's. The third reason for our concern is the fact that a member of our team, Prof. Gunnar af Hällström, was particularly interested in studying and interpreting the sources concerning the last years of the Academy.

The Later Fifth Century

The traditional way of life continued quite undisturbed until the middle of the fifth century, although signs of Christian influence became more common in Athens. The notables of this period were the scions of the Scholarch Plutarchus,[131] his successor, the Scholarch Syrianus and the young Proclus, who soon, probably in the late 430's, succeeded Syrianus as the head of the Neoplatonic school. However, this is, above all, the period of Theagenes, archon, *patricius* and senator who was considered one of the wealthiest and most influential citizens of the whole Empire.[132] He was a native of Athens and claimed to be a descendant of Miltiades and Plato. He was so wealthy that he was able to assist both cities and individuals.[133] This fact has very often been ignored when the life of Athens in the fifth century has been considered and only the learned activities have been emphasised. Furthermore, he was married to Asclepigeneia, the great-granddaughter of the philosopher Plutarchus and thus related to the other notable family of the period. It is surprising that there would suddenly appear in Athens such an immensely rich person, whose origin is indisputably local. In my opinion rich landowners had to exist continuously, from the time of Herodes Atticus to that of Theagenes.

Towards the middle of the fifth century he and his father-in-law Archiadas seem to have lost a part of their property, probably to raiding barbarians,[134] since they claim that they would willingly have spent all that property to finance the Panathenaic procession.[135] However, this was no longer possible. In fact, at the same time as the financial difficulties caused by barbarian raids the traditional religion and culture faced new difficulties: even the Scholarch Proclus who was on very good terms with the leading personalities of the town, had to leave Athens for a year.[136]

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130 *Id.*, 475.
131 See Table 1. above.
132 Damascius, frs. 257 and 261.
133 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29.
134 Perhaps this raid is to be connected with the alleged raid by the Vandals which Frantz dates to A.D. 467, see Frantz (1988), 78–79.
135 Damascius, fr. 273.
136 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 15.

At about the same time, also the "Palace of the Giants" suffered damage which was quickly repaired.[137] It resulted, however, in a change of the function of the palace towards a more utilitarian use, with an aqueduct and several water mills around it. The Palace had thus become the main building of a great farm house, where one of the notables of the time lived. I wonder whether anybody other than Theagenes and his family come into question.

The famous statue of a *togatus,* discovered in the Agora in the 1930's,[138] belongs to the middle of the fifth century[139] and is perhaps related to the Palace.

After the deaths of Proclus and Theagenes, the situation of the Neoplatonist school deteriorated rapidly, and the Scholarch Marinus had to spend a certain time in Epidaurus, which seems to have long functioned as a refuge for practising pagans.[140] Some of his successors were not very diplomatic in their relations with the authorities. However, it seems that the Neoplatonic school was not closed because of its politics but as a part of the cultural policy of the Emperor Justinian who wanted to reform higher education.[141]

137 Frantz (1988), 78–79.

138 Shear Sr. (1936), 198, fig. 18; Kollwitz (1941), 91 f., no. 19, 112; Harrison (1953), 79 ff., no. 64, pls. 41 f.; Thompson (1959), 68, pl. IV 2.

139 I thank Dr. Hans Rupprecht Goette from the German Archaeological Institute for the information concerning the statue.

140 Damascius, frs. 313 and 314.

141 See the discussion in af Hällström's conclusion.

Erkki Sironen

Life and Administration of Late Roman Attica in the Light of Public Inscriptions[1]

I. Introduction

During the past hundred years or so archaeological discoveries have filled out the picture of Late Roman Athens obtained from the meagre literary references. Of these finds, inscriptions have been used increasingly in the following three important works on the subject published during the past 50 years.

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1 I wish to thank the Greek archaeological and ecclesiastical authorities and museums for the permission to study and republish most of the inscriptions included in this paper. Thanks go to the Louvre (inscription **1.**) and the British Museum (inscription **28.**) for the same reason. I am very grateful to the former Director of the Epigraphical Museum, Dr Dina Peppa-Delmouzou, and Mrs Chara Karapa-Molisani for their help. I have benefited from conversations with Professors Kevin Clinton, Stephen Tracy and Ron Stroud in Athens, with Ms Alison Frantz, Professors Homer Thompson and Christian Habicht in Princeton, and Professors Luigi Moretti and Guglielmo Cavallo in Rome, in an early phase of my work. Dr Denis Feissel has given me advice *per litteras*. My Finnish supervisors, Professors Maarit Kaimio and Paavo Castrén (who suggested this work to me), have continuously given me support and guidance with this project from its very beginning. To them and Professor Jaakko Frösén I owe very much in many respects. I thank Mrs Julia Burman and Ms Arja Karivieri for numerous conversations concerning my paper, as well as Mr Mika Hakkarainen for valuable help. Dr Charles Williams, Director of the Corinth excavations, has furthered this project greatly by letting me work with parallel material in Corinth from 1988 on. Professor John Camp has also supported my studies through a longer period, and I have benefited from his and Dr Judith Binder's remarks on a draft of this paper. Finally, in February 1993 a trip to Oxford and London influenced considerably the presentation of this paper: I read a paper in Professor John Matthews' Late Roman Seminar in the Queen's College; I had also advantageous conversations with Professors David Lewis and Fergus Millar. Last, but not least, I am indebted to Dr Charlotte Roueché for a fundamental discussion about my projects and very useful remarks on a draft of this paper. Any faults, of course, are totally my responsibility.

The first of the scholars, John Day, attempted to reconstruct an economic history of Athens.[2] Even though the author was able to use fresh archaeological evidence from the Agora excavations, he was primarily dependent upon the literary evidence in studying the Late Roman period.

Homer Thompson, former Field Director of the Agora excavations, wrote a paper in 1959 which referred to the meagre epigraphical evidence.[3] He stressed the importance of the Herulian raid in A.D. 267 belittled by Wachsmuth and Judeich.[4] Thompson thought that the Agora lay almost entirely desolate from A.D. 267 until around A.D. 400. To achieve a coherent narrative he cited Synesius' negative report on Athens from around A.D. 400.[5] Thompson said that Alaric and his Goths "left no visible mark in the area of the Agora".[6] In this respect Thompson's authority may have influenced some American scholars working under him. At the beginning of the fifth century considerable building activity is reported by Thompson to have occurred in "the long-desolate area of the ancient Agora", with the interpretation that this was due to rich people moving into the city, caused by Alaric's devastation of the countryside of Attica.[7] Thompson's article concerns itself mainly with the Agora and is selective in using inscriptions, probably due to limited space. Thompson republished his article in 1972 with only minor revisions.[8]

Alison Frantz' recent book on the Late Roman Agora (1988), which presents as full a picture as possible of the Agora and its surroundings in Late Antiquity, is better balanced than the above-mentioned articles by Thompson.[9] Her book rightfully casts doubt on a tendency to assign repairs of pagan sanctuaries and monuments in Athens to Julian the Apostate and to date the repairs accordingly. More importantly, Frantz has revised estimates of wholesale damage previously attributed to the Heruli by showing that more attention must be paid to the destruction wrought by Alaric and his Goths.[10] Frantz reminds the reader that little account has been taken of movable finds of Late Antiquity from the Agora excavations; obviously due to reasons of space available, Frantz has been unable to present all the inscriptions in her study. This paper and the projected *corpus* will provide a complement to the publications mentioned above; a look at the footnotes, however, will show how dependent I am on the work of Frantz and other archaeologists, although I have not always been able to be in agreement with them.[11]

The scope of this paper is limited to a presentation of the historically more important public texts, abridged from my thesis submitted for the Grade of Licentiate of Philosophy

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2 See Day (1942), especially 262–270; Day himself describes these pages as a "meager sketch".

3 Thompson (1959), aptly titled "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267–600".

4 *Id.*, 62, note 7.

5 The letter has been dated in A.D. 410 by Alan Cameron (1992), 422–423.

6 Thompson (1959), 66, with note 29 on Synesius' letter; the letter could be as early as A.D. 395, according to Frantz (1988), 53, note 227, and p. 55, note 239.

7 Thompson (1959), 66–67.

8 With, for example, the information that in the second half of the fourth and in the fifth century Athens was again an educational centre, see Thompson (1972), 210 with note 12.

9 Compare especially the chapters on the Herulian raid, the survival of the boule, the Panathenaic festival and the institution of the archons, as well as the slow advance of Christianity, in Frantz (1988), 1–9, 12, and 18–20.

10 *Id.*, 23 with note 69 and p. 53–56.

11 The study of Late Roman Athens has continued in several reviews of Frantz' *magnum opus:* Fowden (1990), being a review article; a shorter review can be be found in Ward-Perkins (1990); see Castrén (1991) for a more recent review. Furthermore, Rügler (1990), 277–278, discusses Cerameicus and Alaric's siege of Athens and gives a synopsis of early scholarship. On p. 287–291 Rügler comes to the conclusion that Alaric is not to be blamed for destruction in the Agora area.

at the University of Helsinki.[12] The public inscriptions have been frequently studied, but until now they have not been studied as a group by a single scholar working with the stones themselves; this means that considerations of script and so on become more important.

The material for this study is limited to the public dedications and honorary inscriptions together with (non-Christian) building inscriptions, including milestones, of Attica between A.D. 267, the date of the Herulian raid of Athens, and A.D. 529, the date of the closing of the philosophical schools of Athens by the Emperor Justinian. Our treatment of this period begins with the late third century after the Herulian raid on Athens in A.D. 267, followed by the fourth century proper until A.D. 395, concluding with the period following the Visigothic raid of Athens in A.D. 396.

II. The Late Third Century Inscriptions

This chapter presents the public inscriptions datable after the Herulian raid on Athens in A.D. 267 until the end of the third century.

1. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3669: Honours to Publius Herennius Dexippus (A.D. 270 or later)

κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρίου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ
τῆς βουλῆς τῶν)ΨΝ(καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τὸν
ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχὴν καὶ
ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα
καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων οἴκο-
θεν ἱερέα παναγῆ Πό(πλιον) Ἐρέν(νιον) Δέξιππον Πτολεμαίου
Ἑρμειον τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ συνγραφέα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα οἱ παῖδε[ς].

vacat

ἀλκῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἐν βουλαῖσι κρατίστους
ἄνδρας ἀγακλείτους γείνατο Κεκροπίη,
ὧν ἕνα καὶ Δέξιππον, ὃς ἱστορίην ἐσαθρήσας
αἰῶνος δολιχὴν ἀτρεκέως ἔφρασεν
καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐσεῖδε, τὰ δ' ἐκ βύβλων ἀναλέξας
εὕρατο παντοίην ἱστορίης ἀτραπόν.
ἦ μέγα κλεινὸς ἀνήρ, ὃς νοῦ ἄπο μυρίον ὄμμα

12 The Licentiate thesis (March 1992) is a part of an unfinished doctoral dissertation in progress. As the original thesis was from the very first beginning heavily dependent on the arrangement of Kirchner's *IG* II/III^2 *(editio minor)*, it is natural that the geographical limits of my study coincide with those of Kirchner and his predecessors: Megaris and some northern areas of the modern νομὸς Ἀττικῆς are excluded. The dissertation will include the entire *corpus* with more than 300 inscriptions and it will see the light of day after this paper has already been published. As the *corpus* in its final form will be more epigraphical, including all of the necessary technical descriptions and details, it is self-evident that the nature of this presentation will be somewhat different. I have excluded *dipinti* and graffiti, along with texts on lamps, from the projected *corpus*.

ἐκτείνας χρονίους πρήξιας ἐξέμαθεν. 15
φήμη μὲν περίβωτος ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τὴν ὁ νεανθής
αἶνος Δεξίππῳ δῶκεν ἐφ' ἱστορίῃ.
τοὔνεκα δ(ὴ) καὶ παῖδες ἀγάκλειτον γενετῆρα
μορφάεντα λίθου θῆκαν ἀμειβόμενοι.

"Upon the approval granted by the Council of Areopagus and by the Council of the 750 members and by the people of Athens, the children (erected the statue for their father) Publius Herennius Dexippus, son of Ptolemaios, from the deme of Hermos, the rhetor and historian, and the sacrosanct priest, because of his merits in having held the office of *basileus* among the *thesmothetai* and having held the office of the eponymous archon and having served as the president of the *panegyris*-festival and having been the *agonothetes* of the Great Panathenaic Games at his own expense."

"The land of Cecrops has brought forth men excelling in courage, in speech and in counsel; one of them is Dexippus, who observed the age-long history and wrote it exactly. Some of the events he witnessed himself, some he gathered from books, and thus made his way to the manifold path of history. O most famous man, who, spreading out his boundless insight, closely examined the doings of times long gone by! His fame is much talked of all around Greece, the fame which was given to Dexippus by the new-blown praise on account of his *History*. And this is the reason why (his) children have repaid their famous father by erecting a statue formed of stone."

Cut on a reused statue base (H. 0.545, W. 0.74, T. 0.025–0.04, LH. 0.008–0.017), where also *IG* II/III^2, no. 3625 was cut; found in Athens, removed to the Louvre.

This is the main inscription of Dexippus (traditionally dated between A.D. 267–269), giving the fullest account of his posts and functions.[13] The prose introduction of the inscription includes two important pieces of information: the number of the members of the council has been increased to include 750 members, as is attested only in this inscription.[14] The other important thing is that Dexippus was not necessarily honoured for his bravery against the Heruli at all: in line 8 the word ἀλκῇ has been thought to refer to the victory over the Heruli.[15] This seems to be wrong, as can be shown by two comparable epigrams, one of which is for Aratus and the other for Philopoemen.[16] Dexippus has been honoured for his literary achievements and eloquence. The finishing

13 Other inscriptions are *IG* II/III^2, nos. 2931, 3198, 3667, 3670, and 3671.

14 According to Geagan (1979), 409, this occurred around A.D. 230, at around the same time when prytany lists ceased to be cut on stone and when the number of *epheboi* increased. See also Meritt and Traill (1974), 22, with note 79; Frantz (1988), 12, with note 8, dates this in around A.D. 270 and claims it is unexplained. This has been thought to indicate a change from annual to permanent membership and to suggest financial stringency and a need for the burden of the membership to be spread more widely: see Millar (1969), 21, with note 96, obtained from the discussion in Geagan (1967), 74–75.

15 Kapetanopoulos (1972), 135, note 7.

16 Hiller von Gaertringen (1926), no. 99, lines 1–2, and no. 110, lines 1–2.

and publishing of Dexippus' *Χρονικά* sometime in the 270's[17] seems to have occupied a prominent place in the epigram: μῦθοι (line 8), ἱστορίη (lines 10, 13, and 17), ἐκ βύβλων ἀναλέξας (line 12), culminating in lines 16 with φήμη..., τὴν ὁ νεανθὴς αἶνος given to Dexippus for his *History*. Furthermore, it may be concluded from the wording of line 12 that the contents of Dexippus' *History* related both contemporary and remote incidents, thus excluding the possibility that *Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον* and *Σκυθικά* are being referred to.

2. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3689: Honours to the Proconsul Claudius Illyrius (around A.D. 270's/280's)

τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον
Κλαύδιον Ἰλλυριόν, ἔγγονον Λεον-
τικοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπατεύσαντος,
παῖδ[α] Τήρ[ε]ντος τοῦ τὴν ἐπώ[νυ]-
μον ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντο[ς, τὸν]
ἀνθύπατον καὶ Ἀρεο[παγεί]-
την καὶ εὐεργέτ[η]ν ἡ [πόλις],
ἐπιμελουμ[ένου Μάρκου Ἰουνί]-
ου Μηνο[υκιανοῦ]. *vacat*

"The city (of Athens set up this statue of) *vir clarissimus*, the Proconsul (of Achaea) Claudius Illyrius – grandson of Leonticus the former proconsul, son of Terens the former holder of the office of eponymous archon – proconsul, member of Areopagus, and a benefactor; Marcus Iunius Minucianus took charge (of the erection of the statue)."

Cut on a reused rectangular statue base (preserved H. 0.95, W. 0.455, T. 0.56, LH. 0.012–0.017), found broken on the Acropolis, excluded from the map in Fig. 2 b.

The honorand has been additionally delineated by his ancestors: the Proconsul Leonticus was his grandfather[18] and the eponymous archon Terens was his father.[19] This ancestry and the traditional identification with the builder of a Late Roman wall, *signo* Ἰλλυριός, who built the wall for Athens,[20] have caused him to be regarded as an Athenian. A further clue for establishing a date for this inscription is available in the name of the *epimeletes* Marcus Iunius Minucianus.

The general problem of dating these persons arose when the fortification wall, previously called the Valerian Wall, was dated later than A.D. 267 and accordingly renamed the Post-Herulian Wall. Already acknowledged by Millar in 1969,[21] these

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17 Dexippus' historical works are mentioned by Millar (1969), 21–26. *Χρονικά* cannot have been completed earlier than a couple of years after the repulse of the Heruli, *id.*, 24. I would take this to mean the beginning of the 270's.

18 See references given by Christol (1986), 177, note 1.

19 Terens has been usually dated in the second quarter of the third century; see the references given by Christol (1986), 178, note 3.

20 See **4.** below.

21 Millar (1969), 17. This will be dealt with in detail in **4.**

problems were first discussed at length by Christol. He proposed a complex theory, according to which the builder of the wall was son of the proconsul with an identical *signum*.[22] A more plausible explanation for the variable dates of Illyrius was proposed by Frantz in 1988.[23] According to her we have to re-establish the date for Marcus Iunius Minucianus to around A.D. 255–295, setting aside an earlier date provided by *Suda*.[24] This can be deduced from the activities of Minucianus' son, Nicagoras the Younger, who accompanied Constantine to Egypt in A.D. 326. The new date would accord with a date in the late 270's/early 280's for the fortification wall. Claudius Illyrius' father Terens served as an archon sometime between A.D. 239–261,[25] but he had been previously moved back to the second quarter of the third century, for no reason at all. The new dating gives a more realistic period of 65–75 years for the careers of grandfather, father, and (grand)son.

3. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3690: Honours to the Proconsul Claudius Illyrius (around A.D. 270's/280's)

[τὸν λαμπρότα-]
[τον ἀνθύ]πατον
[Κλαύδιον Ἰλ]λυριόν,
[ἔγγονον Λε]ον[τι]-
[κοῦ το]ῦ ἀνθυπα-
[τε]ύσαντος, παῖδα
[Τή]ρεντος τοῦ
[τὴ]ν ἐπώνυμον
ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος,
τὸν ἀνθύπατον
καὶ Ἀρεοπαγείτη[ν]
καὶ εὐεργέτην
ἡ πόλις, ἐπιμε-
λουμένου Μάρ-
κου Ἰουνίου
Μινουκιανοῦ.
vacat

22 Christol (1986), 181, with notes 21–23.
23 Frantz (1988), 8–9, notes 58–63.
24 *Suda*, M 1087: Μινουκιανός, Νικαγόρου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος, σοφιστής, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Γαλιηνοῦ. He is also present in a letter of the Emperor Gallienus to the Athenians: see Clinton (1989), 1535.
25 Graindor (1922), 262–263.

For translation and commentary, see **2.** above.

Cut on a rectangular statue base (H. 1.43, W. 0.53, T. 0.42, LH. 0.015–0.043), found west of the Erechtheum; presently in a trench next to the northern wall of the Acropolis. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

Kapetanopoulos' new reading[26] [ἀνθύπατο]ν Γάιον in line 2 is epigraphically impossible: the traces on the marble do not allow this. Neither is the superfluous *praenomen* present in the other copy of this text, see **2.** above.

4. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5199: The Post-Herulian Wall, built probably by the Proconsul Claudius Illyrius (around A.D. 270's/280's)

Ἀμφ[ίων] μούσαις κιθάρης ἔσ[τησεν Θήβης]
ν τείχεα· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμᾶς πατ[ρίδος Ἰλλυριός]
ἀδύλογον μοῦσαν μεθέπων· [τῷ καὶ δοκέουσι]
ν ἀκμῆτες ῥέζειν πείρατα [πάντα τέχνας.]

"Amphion put up the walls of Thebes by the music of his cithara; now Illyrius (put up the walls) in my home city, following the sweet-voiced muse. Thus, untiringly (the workmen) seem to achieve all of the limits of their craft."

Cut on a fragment of a block (preserved H. 0.38, preserved W. 1.32, T. 0.31, LH. 0.041–0.05) from the Post-Herulian Wall, found at the site of the church of Agios Demetrios Katephores, now (only partly preserved) in the Diogeneion lot. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

Probably, the poet at work here is not referring to himself in line 2, but to another person Illyrius (see below). The name was preserved on the stone until the nineteenth century. At any rate, the poet seems to have stumbled towards the end of his efforts, since the last sentence is strikingly elaborate and obscure.

The most important newly established fact in recent research literature is the new date for the Post-Herulian Wall, formerly known under several misnomers, the most misleading of which has been "The Valerian Wall". As early as 1905 Judeich distinguished this wall from the one that was supposedly under repair in the reign of Valerian.[27] The excavations in the Agora in the thirties established the date in the last quarter of the third century,[28] but more recently a slightly later date for the wall has been suggested.[29] The antiquated date still lingers on in some publications.[30]

The builder of the wall has been plausibly identified with the Proconsul Claudius Illyrius featured in **2.** and **3.**, dated in the 270's or 280's. Our inscription was found in the north-eastern part of the enceinte, and it was probably in a very conspicuous place, surely near a gate.[31] On the basis of a corresponding inscription (see **5.** below) found in

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26 Kapetanopoulos (1974), 62, no. 4, lines 1–6, taken up by *BEpigr* 1976, no. 210.

27 Judeich (1905), 103, note 5 with references.

28 Day (1942), 259–260 with note 36; Thompson (1959), 65, notes 21 and 22; *id.* (1972), 209, note 9.

29 Frantz (1988), 6, note 40: a single coin of Maximian (A.D. 286–305).

30 Geagan (1979), 410, and Thomasson (1984), 196, no. 51.

31 Travlos (1988b), 140, in the detailed description of the wall.

the west flank, it may be asked whether Illyrius is responsible only for the construction of the east flank[32] or whether he may also be credited with the west flank or maybe even the whole wall.[33] This question must remain unanswered until the name of the restorer is found in some other part of the wall.

5. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5200: Further epigrams on the Post-Herulian Wall (around A.D. 270's/280's)

A.: οὐ τάδε θελξιμελὴς Ἀμφιονὶς ἥρα[ρε φόρμιγξ]
ˇˇˇˇ οὐδὲ Κυκλωπείᾳ[ς χειρὸ]ς ἔδ[ειμε βία].

B.: [-----π]ειθοῦς
[-----ἀ]ρετᾷ[ς?].

"This (wall) was not put together by Amphion's sweet-sounding lyre. Neither did the powerful hands of the Cyclops build (this wall)."

"[---] of obedience. [---] of virtue (?)."

Cut on fragments of two different blocks (A.: H. 0.30, preserved W. 1.80, T. 0.765, LH. 0.05–0.06; B.: H. 0.28, preserved W. 0.41 and 0.64, preserved T. 0.55 and 1.12, LH. 0.06), both found broken (B. without even a join) in the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa near the west flank of the Post-Herulian Wall. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

A close parallel to the work of Cyclopean hands can be found in the *Greek Anthology:*

Κυκλώπων τάδε χεῖρες ἐνιδρύσαντο θαλάσσῃ
τείχεα· μέχρι πόσου, Γαῖα, βιαζόμεθα;[34]

Unfortunately the meaning of epigram B. remains obscure. It may have contained the name of the builder of the wall.

In view of this evidence and especially of the significance of the topographical information relevant in this case, it is very probable that this is a pendant to **4.**, which refers to the contemporary building of the Post-Herulian Wall.

Was Illyrius responsible also for this section of the wall? Frantz attributes this section of the wall with likelihood and the whole wall with probability to Illyrius.[35] I would be more cautious, as no name has here survived to indicate the builder. Maybe we have to be content with a vague date for this inscription, as the fortification probably was a time-consuming project, possibly completed within years before or after the east flank was furnished with **4.**, that is, from around A.D. 270's until late 280's.

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32 See Thompson (1959), 64, and *id.* (1972), 209.

33 Frantz (1988), 9, attributes the whole wall probably to Illyrius.

34 *AP* 7.379, lines 3–4, which is a dialogue between Dicaearchia (Puteoli) and the Sea about the mole constructed in the sea.

35 Frantz (1988), 9.

6. *CIL* III, no. 6103: Dedication to the Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 285/286?)

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) <G>(aio) Val(erio) Diocletiano p(io) <f>(elici)
[v] invicto Augusto fortiss(imo)
[v] <atqu>e super omnes retro prin-
[v] cipes piissimo Augusto
[vv] L(ucius) Turr(anius) Gratianus v(ir) c(larissimus), corr(ector) 5
[vv] prov(inciae) Achaiae devotus
[vv] numini maiestatiq(ue) eius.

"Lucius Turranius Gratianus, *vir clarissimus* and *corrector* of the province of Achaea, (dedicates this) to the Emperor *Caesar* Gaius Valerius Diocletianus, the pious, lucky, unvanquished *Augustus,* the most brave and, above all of the preceding rulers, the most pious *Augustus,* in loyalty to his divine power."

The inscription was found between the Library of Hadrian and the Gate of the Agora (see map in Fig. 2 b), but was later lost.

The text of this dedication requires no special comments here. The career of Lucius Turranius Gratianus has been elucidated by Groag.[36] According to him Gratianus was appointed to the highest senatorial rank of *praefectus urbi* in A.D. 290. There may have been a short period between his being the *corrector* of Achaea and the prefect of Rome. As Geagan has shown, *correctores* continue to be attested at Athens, but the scarcity of documentation limits the amount of evidence regarding them.[37] The absence of the *gentilicium* Aurelius and the presence of *fortissimus* in Diocletian's title perhaps means that Carinus had already died. This dedication has evidently been set up before the adoption of the coregency, which occurred on the 1st of April in A.D. 286.

7. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3421: Dedication to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 286–305)

αὐτοκράτ⟨ο⟩ρ[σι] Καίσαρσ⟨ι⟩ν
Διοκλιτιανῷ καὶ Μαξιμι-[v]
ανῷ Σεβαστο⟨ῖ⟩ς ὁ κράτιστος
[-----].

"The *kratistos* [---] (dedicates this) to the Emperors and *Caesars* Diocletian and Maximian, Augusts."

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36 Groag (1946), 14–15, with notes. Further information is available in Barbieri (1952), 335, no. 1930 and in *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Gratianus 3.

37 Geagan (1979), 410. See also Follet (1976), 38, for an example of an earlier *corrector*.

The inscription was found in Athens, but was later lost.

The dedicant of this inscription remains unknown except for his rank. This dedication is less verbose than **6.**, but a more remarkable fact is that this is the only known imperial dedication from Late Roman Central Achaea[38] in Greek prose that mentions the dedicant as a singular masculine person. Most Late Roman imperial dedications were cut in Greek, with the dedicant being ἡ πόλις, whereas the few Latin ones are almost exclusively dedicated by imperial officials. The inscription could be dated precisely between the years A.D. 286–292/3 in view of the significant fact that Galerius – as the sovereign of Illyricum with Greece and Macedonia – would hardly have been left unmentioned in the text. Another argument in favour of this hypothesis could be adduced: the possibility that senatorial rank (still then in vogue) is indicated by the word ὁ κράτιστος. This would also be in accordance with the earlier date because the province of Achaea was degraded by Diocletian into the lowest rank of provinces, administered between A.D. 293–305 by a *praeses* of equestrian rank.[39] It must be borne in mind, however, that neither of these arguments could be called stringent or decisive.

8. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3422: Dedication to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 286–305)

[-----? Διοκλητ]ιανὸν [-----]
[-----? αὐτοκρά]τορα Μα[ξιμιανόν-----?]
[-----] ΟΣΤΟ̣ [-----]
[-----?].

"[---] Diocletian [---] The Emperor Maximian [---]."

Cut on a (possibly reused) slab (preserved H. 0.35, preserved W. 0.50, T. 0.14, LH. 0.028–0.049), found in Eleusis.

The textual form of this inscription has so far raised no controversy despite the fact that the restored text (as we have it) does not conform with the usual stock of formulae attained from the Late Roman imperial dedications of Achaea. The word αὐτοκράτορα normally precedes the name of the first emperor, but not the name of the coregents as would seem to be the case here. Furthermore, nobody has ever restored the beginning of the first line with αὐτοκράτορα. This would seem to be impossible in light of the estimated space available at left. Despite these difficulties I regard this inscription as an imperial dedication to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian because of the rather large letters, the lettering (see Appendix on scripts), and the quality of the work, along with the likelihood here that the word αὐτοκράτορα is followed by the name of the coregent Maximian, although the name is fragmentary.

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38 This refers to parallel material – around 900 texts – collected by me from the Late Roman inscriptions of Peloponnesus (with several adjacent islands), Megaris, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Acarnania, Doris, Actolia and Euboea. The parallel material could be utilised more consistently in my thesis.

39 Groag (1946), 13. His hypothesis, according to which the offices of the proconsul and *corrector* of the free cities of Achaea might have been combined during this period of transition, is based on similar examples found already in the earlier period (see *ibid.*, note 3).

9. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5202: Milestone under the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 286–305)

αὐτοκράτωρ
Καῖσαρ ^{vvvv}
Διοκλ[η]τιαν⟨ὸ⟩[ς]
καὶ Μαξ⟨ι⟩μιαν[ός]
^{vvvv} ΙΒ̄ *vacat* 5
^{vv} [ἐ]ξ ἄστ- ^{vvvv}
^{vvv} [ε]ως. ^{vvv}

"The Emperor *Caesar* Diocletian, and Maximian. 12 miles from the city (of Athens)."

Cut on a headless fragment of a herm, originally probably set up on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, found near Aspropyrgos north of the Sacred Way between Daphni and Eleusis; now lost.

It should be noted that αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ is in the singular instead of the plural for the two emperors.

It has been claimed that the milestones of Greece and Asia Minor were the principal monuments of Roman imperial art of the decades from the death of Severus Alexander to the advent of the Tetrarchy.[40] Attica is represented with five different milestones (**9.** and **22.–25.**) in the Late Roman period.[41] They can be assumed to reflect repair works undertaken by the government during this period.[42]

Tabula Imperii Byzantini states that the road system of Attica facilitated travel from Cithaeron to Corinth and other destinations in the Peloponnesus via Megara.[43] Athens was served by a road which passed from Eleusis along the coast to Daphni, which lies in the valley between Mt. Aigaleos and Stephanobouni. It followed the route of the Sacred Way, ἱερὰ ὁδός.[44]

III. The Fourth Century Inscriptions

This chapter studies the public[45] inscriptions datable between A.D. 300 and A.D. 395: the fourth century before the incursion of Alaric in A.D. 396.

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40 Vermeule (1968), 7.

41 The rest of the milestones, although two of them (**22.** and **23.**) date partly already to the third and fourth century proper, are published in the beginning of Chapter IV.

42 This was assumed by Travlos (1988a), 177.

43 *TIB*, 98.

44 *Ibid.* The length of the Sacred Way is given as 20.5 kilometres, which would be approximately 12 Roman miles; the milestones from around Daphni – according to *TIB*, 141 – are at a distance of nine kilometres, equal to six Roman miles (see **23.**, **24.** and possibly also **25.**).

45 I omit here two fragments of regulations from the central government: *IG* II/III^2, no. 1120 (The Edict of Diocletian on Prices, from A.D. 301), and *IG* II/III^2, no. 1121 (a constitution on the *Caesariani*, from A.D. 305), for not being especially relevant to the topic of this paper. Another omission of a virtually public text from this study concerns *IG* II/III^2, no. 2342, a genealogical catalogue of priests reaching up to the beginning of the fourth century.

10. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3200: An epistyle with the name of the Emperor Constantine or Constans (A.D. 316–350?)

^{vacat} Κωνστα̣[ντίνῳ?]

Cut on an epistyle (preserved H. 0.53, preserved W. 1.57, T. 0.52, LH. 0.16–0.19), provenience unknown.

It may be presumed that the person mentioned is probably an emperor because the text evidently covered the central part of the block[46] in huge letters; that there is no *Flavius* before the name should not worry us either.[47] Thus, the person mentioned could be Constantius Chlorus, Constans or one of those carrying the name Constantius, or Constantine I or II.

There seems to be more evidence in favour of Constantine the Great than for Constans: the former had a great concern for Athens,[48] he was also honoured with a statue containing an inscription for having acted as a *strategos*, taking care of the *cura annonae*.[49] Additional support for this view may be found in the fact that the elevation in the status of the province of Achaea was probably due to Constantine's administrative reforms.[50] Compared to this, Constans could only boast of having given several grain-producing islands to Athens, in response to a request made by the sophist Prohaeresius.[51]

In conclusion, the building was probably dedicated to Constantine the Great, but Constans remains a possibility.

11. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3692: Honours to the archon Hegias (first half of the fourth century)

τὸν λαμπρότατον
Ἡγείαν τὸν Τιμοκράτους
ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον
ἀρχὴν φιλοτειμότατα ^{vv}
καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα
περιφανέστατα ἡ πόλις
σύνπασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς ^{v}

46 With the uninscribed field of at least 0.80 m. at left, I estimate the original width of the block at around 3.20 m.

47 See Feissel in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985), no. 2, for another example of this.

48 See Julian, *Oratio* I.6 (ed. Bidez (1932)), which is a panegyric to Constantius II.

49 *ibid.*: βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὢν καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων ἠξίου καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνος τυγχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος.

50 Groag (1946), 15–16 and 22. This could possibly be linked with Constantine's keenness to show favour to the established pagan aristocracy of Athens, seen, for example, in Constantine sending Nicagoras, the *daduch* of Eleusis, on a trip to Egypt: see Millar (1969), 17 with notes 56–58, and Fowden (1987) with details.

51 Eunapius, *VS* X.7.5–8 has a considerably detailed account of this incident.

εὐεργέτην τειμῶσα [vv]
[vv] ἀνέστησεν. [vvvv]

"With veneration the entire city (of Athens) has dedicated (this statue of) her own benefactor, the *lamprotatos* Hegias, son of Timocrates, who very generously held the office of eponymous archon and very conspicuously held the office of president of the *panegyris*-festival."

Cut on the left side of a reused rectangular statue base (H. 0.61, W. 0.59, T. 0.67, LH. 0.015–0.036); first use for *IG* II/III^2, no. 3701, third use for *IG* II/III^2, no. 3818 (=**29.**); found in the wall of the church of Agia Kyra Kandeli (later demolished) in Plaka. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

In the *IG* II/III^2 this inscription is evidently misdated in the mid-third century due to a misprint; the correct date, A.D. 300–350, had been printed four years earlier.[52] Earlier scholars had dated the text either in A.D. 422[53] or in the mid-third century.[54] Graindor was the first scholar to establish an acceptable date for this inscription.[55] He rejected Dittenberger's identification of Hegias, son of Timocrates, with another Hegias, whose father and deme are unknown.[56] I agree with Graindor's analysis of the lettering of the inscription, which could be as late as the fifth century (see Appendix on scripts). If Hegias were later than Plutarchus the Sophist (*floruit* around A.D. 410) recorded on the third inscription (**29.**) on the same base, he should be dated before A.D. 423, when the Emperor Theodosius II issued a decree forbidding pagan rites.[57] Finally, the statue of Plutarchus could hardly have been used for Hegias, so Graindor dated Hegias in early fourth century, midway between Marcus Ulpius Flavius Tisamenus of the first inscription and Plutarchus of the last reuse of the base.[58]

There are some other things that could corroborate the later date. This public inscription has three striking examples of ει for ι (lines 2, 4, and 8) and words not attested in any other similar inscriptions.[59] Dedication by ἡ πόλις σύνπασα is very rare,[60] but this cannot be shown to reflect a change in the structure of post-Herulian civic life at Athens. That Hegias was honoured by the entire city has been interpreted as the greatest honour.[61] Without a doubt we have here a stylistically aberrant inscription, where the *demoticon* and *gentilicium* may have been left out on purpose.

There were several wealthy families in third-century Athens, and fewer in the fifth century, who dominated the local offices and willingly spent their money for public purposes,[62] but we have practically no knowledge of this phenomenon in the fourth

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52 This was in 1931 in *Archontum Tabulae*, 796 (in *IG* II/III^2, *pars altera*.)

53 Dumont (1874), 63: around A.D. 422, evidently due to Theodosius' decree forbidding pagan festivities (*CTh* XVI.10.22, ed. Pharr (1952)).

54 Dittenberger (1878), no. 709, Kirchner in *IG* II/III^2, no. 3692, and Barbieri (1952), 391, no. 2241.

55 Graindor (1922), 287–289, no. 208 and p. 300.

56 See *IG* II/III^2, no. 2342, lines 16 and 34.

57 See line 5 of our inscription: πανηγυριαρχήσαντα.

58 This has been accepted by Oliver (1942), 89, in his archon list, but not by Geagan (1967), 146.

59 Two of the rare words are φιλοτειμότατα and περιφανέστατα.

60 Curiously enough, it occurs in an inscription dated in the early third century: *IG* II/III^2, no. 3699, lines 8–12. See also *IG* II/III^2, no. 3945, lines 5–8.

61 Keil (1919), 31.

62 Day (1942), 257 (third century); Keil (1919), 90, thinks that Athens depended on very few rich families around A.D. 400; for the later fifth century, when, among others, Hegias (son of Theagenes) flourished, see Fowden (1990), 495.

century.[63] Perhaps Hegias has to be included in the local wealthy class, with possible links to Eleusis *(panegyriarchos)* and other priestly ties.[64]

12. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5206: Gateway on the Acropolis, built by Flavius Septimius Marcellinus (around the second quarter of the fourth century)

^{vacat} Φλ(άβιος) Σεπτίμιος Μαρκελ̣[λεῖνος ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) καὶ ἀπὸ
ἀγωνοθετ]ῶν^{vacat}
^{vacat} ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺ̣[ς πυλῶνας τῇ πόλει].^{vacat}

"Flavius Septimius Marcellinus, the *lamprotatos* and ex-agonothete (built) the Gateway to the Acropolis from his own resources."

Cut on a large block (preserved H. 0.39, preserved W. 1.59, T. 0.375–0.385, LH. 0.048–0.064, excepting *phi*), found in the second gate of the Turkish outworks on the Acropolis (see map in Fig. 2 b); presently near the south-western corner of the Parthenon.

This inscription has to be dated into the period after around A.D. 325, when the name Flavius gained in popularity, for example in Egypt, among the most prominent decurions.[65] Our Marcellinus is unfortunately missing from *PLRE,* but there are several Flavii Septimii in *PLRE* I and one Flavius Marcellinus in *PLRE* II. More illustrative than these, however, is the Φλ. Σεπ[τίμιος?] recorded on a series of panels for a possible benefactor at Aphrodisias dated in the fourth century by Roueché.[66] The correct reading ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) instead of φλαμ(ινάλιος) or φλάμ(ην) was established as late as in 1960 by Bodnar.[67] This invalidates all of the speculations concerning Marcellinus' high-priesthood. The newly established reading may be seen to be further corroborated by the additional rank of ἀπὸ ἀγωνοθετῶν (albeit without exactly identical parallels), to which one may compare **13.**, lines 10–11: τοῦ διασημοτάτου καὶ / ἀπὸ κομίτων.

A date in the fourth century, based on the study of the Beulé Gate published by Graindor in 1914,[68] has been adopted by most of the later scholars.[69] In recent years, however, the connection of the inscription with the Beulé Gate has been called into question: Frantz states that until it is exhaustively studied, the gate has to be considered

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63 See **12.** and **16.** studied below.

64 Hegias' designation of rank is λαμπρότατος; the rest of the inscription reveals Hegias' generosity and, at the same time, his stature.

65 See Keenan (1973 and 1974), especially the summary in *id.* (1974), 301–302, concerning Egypt, mainly based on the evidence of papyri.

66 Roueché (1989), no. 35. He is an imperial official or a local citizen, either honorand or dedicant. I do not claim that they are identical; the possible connection had escaped Roueché's attention.

67 Bodnar (1960), 177.

68 The date of this inscription has been a controversial issue. Third century dates have been proposed by Wachsmuth (1874), 704, Judeich (1905), 100 with note 3, and Viale (1921), 28. In more recent scholarship only Travlos (see Travlos (1966), 351, on Beulé Gate, and *id.* (1971), 483) has favoured a date in the mid-third century. Graindor's principal arguments (Graindor (1914), 288–291) touch upon architectural, palaeographical, linguistic and historical aspects. Graindor thought that Alaric's epoch was the reason behind the fortification of the Acropolis.

69 For example Judeich (1931), 105, with note 4; Day (1942), 260, note 35; Oliver (1950), 88; Bodnar (1960), 177.

apart from the inscription.[70] Frantz establishes a more general date for the inscription on basis of the continuous fear of invasions in the fourth century, not only the Visigothic threat in the 390's, so strongly emphasised by Graindor.[71] I agree with her on these points, because we have no means of establishing a more precise date for the text than mid-fourth century after Christ.

13. *IG* II/III^2, no. 4222: Honours to the Proconsul Rufius Festus (after A.D. 372)

^{vacat} [ἀ]γαθῇ[ι τύχηι ^{vacat}]
τὸν λαμπρότατον ἀνθύπατον
τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ῥούφιον Φῆστον
καὶ Ἀρεοπαγείτην ἡ ἐξ Ἀρίου
πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν
τριακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη-
ναίων εὐνοίας ἕνεκα κ⟨α⟩ὶ εὐερ-
γεσίας τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέ-
στησεν προνοίᾳ Φλαβίου Πομ( )
δαδούχου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καὶ
^{vvv} ἀπὸ κομίτων. ^{vacat}

"For Good Luck: The Council of Areopagus and the Council of the 300 members and the people of Athens set up (this statue of) *vir clarissimus,* the Proconsul of Achaea and member of the Council of Areopagus, Rufius Festus, for his favour and beneficence towards the city (of Athens). The *daduch* Flavius Pom( ), the *perfectissimus* and *ex comitibus,* was in charge (of the erection of the statue)."

Cut on a reused round statue base first used for *IG* II/III^2, no. 4217 (H. 0.87, diameter 0.505, LH. 0.013–0.021, excepting *phi*), found between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea (see map in Fig. 2 b) on the Acropolis. (For the variant reading in line 7, see Dittenberger (1878), no. 635.)

Only Rufius Festus and Claudius Illyrius (see **2.** and **3.**) are known to have been *Areopagites* besides being proconsuls of Achaea.[72] It has been proposed that the proconsul appointed the members of the Areopagus in the fourth century.[73] Be that as it may, the formula used in our inscription (lines 4–7) belongs to the best-documented type,[74] although it should be added that the quota of the members in the council was cut down to 300.[75] There are also literary sources for the continuation of the council[76] and

70 Frantz (1982), 35–36, especially 36 with note 13. It is remarkable that Frantz ignored this inscription in her monograph (*ead.* (1988)) on Late Roman Athens.
71 *Ead.* (1982), 36, with notes 11–12.
72 Geagan (1967), 55, note 90.
73 Keil (1919), 81, based on Himerius' speech for Scylacius, *Oratio* XXV.
74 Geagan (1967), 139–143.
75 *Id.*, 74; Frantz (1988), 12, note 8 (ignoring *IG* II/III^2, no. 3716, **18.** in this study).
76 Julian, *Oratio* V (ed. Bidez (1932)): τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

the Council of Areopagus.[77] As for how to resolve in line 9 the abbreviated name Flavius Pom( ), who remains to be the last known *daduch* of the Eleusinian mysteries, Clinton has suggested that it is a second *gentilicium* rather than a *cognomen*.[78]

The career of Rufius Festus has been studied by Groag in a very thorough and authoritative manner.[79] He identifies Rufus with the son of the poet Rufius Festus Avienus.[80] Following Groag's theory we get the *terminus post quem* for Festus, a former *magister memoriae* of Valens, in A.D. 372. Groag's somewhat confused account of the identification of Festus ends in the mention that his forefather Musonius Rufus and father Avienus had visited Greece.[81] The date of Festus' proconsulate, however, cannot be regarded as sure.

14. *IG* II/III^2, no. 4226: Honours to the Praetorian Prefect Probus (A.D. 375/376 or A.D. 382–384?)

εἰκόνι χαλκείῃ σε Πρόβον *vacat*
vv τὸν ὕπαρχον Ἀθήναις *vacat*
Ἀντόλιος σ⟨τῆσ⟩εν Ἑλλάδος ἀνθύπατος.

"The Proconsul of Achaea Anatolius set you up, Prefect Probus, at Athens in a statue made of bronze."

Cut on a round statue base, found in the lot of Gaspar north of the Tower of the Winds (see map in Fig. 2 b) in Plaka, but now lost.

Generally the raising up of a bronze statue for any high-ranking official from the mid-fourth century on would require authorisation by an emperor.[82] But this consideration is naturally dispensible with regard to such a brief, matter-of-fact distich as this.

The historical persons behind this inscription had been dated in A.D. 440, but later on Robert[83] established the date in the mid 370's through prosopographical identification with Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus[84] and the Proconsul of Achaea Anatolius, honoured at Sparta at about the same time.[85] Although *PLRE* has accepted the date suggested by Robert (A.D. 375/376) Groag's arguments for a later date should be considered.[86] Groag starts from the four different periods of Probus as praetorian prefect: 1) from A.D. 367 until 376, 2) from A.D. 379/380 until 381, 3) from A.D. 382/383 until 384, and 4) from A.D. 386/387 until his death after 389. Groag speaks for

77 Himerius, *Oratio* VII addresses the Council of Areopagus.
78 Clinton (1974), 66–67. There are several *daduchs* with the name Pompeius in *IG* II/III^2, nos. 1773, 1775, 1776, 1781, and 1789 from around A.D. 170. – See also *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Pom(?pei(an)us) 5, which is just another conjecture for the name.
79 Groag (1946), 49–51.
80 See also *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Festus 12, dated vaguely into mid/late fourth century.
81 Further references on this controversial issue can be found in von Haehling (1978), 429–430.
82 See Feissel (1984), 545–558, especially 550 with note 30.
83 Robert (1948), 54–55, followed by *PLRE* I (see note 84 below).
84 *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Probus 5, with lengthy references on his career.
85 *Id., s.v.* Anatolius 8. Woodward (1925–1926), 245–247, provided the *editio princeps* of the honorary inscription, later on assessed by Robert (1948), 63, and Feissel in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985), no. 26 (with full bibliography).
86 Groag (1946), 57–58.

the third term of office, because the first term would be too early for the Proconsul Anatolius to have rebuilt Sparta after the disaster referred to in the Spartan epigram.[87] The earthquake provides a *terminus post quem* in A.D. 375/6,[88] with an addition of several years for the reconstruction of Sparta to be accomplished. Thus the first term of office is practically out of the question, and the second term is implausible because then only the Pannonian diocese belonging to the prefecture of Illyricum was under Probus' rule. This means that the third term of office, A.D. 382/383 until 384, would be the most probable date for this inscription.

15. *IG* II/III^2, no. 4223: Honours to the Proconsul Theodorus (A.D. 379–395)

ἀρχὸν ἐμὲ Θεόδωρον Ἀχαῶν εἰκόνι τῇδε
στῆσε Θεμιστοκλέης νεύματι Κεκροπίη{ι}ς.
ἀρχὸν ὁρᾷς Θεόδωρον, ὃς εὐδικίῃσ' ἀγανῇσι
σῶσε Πανελλήνων σώματα καὶ πόλιας.
τοὔνεκά μιν κατὰ ἄστυ Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέθηκε
εἰκόνι λαϊνέῃ· τὼς ⟨γ⟩ὰρ ἄνω⟨γ⟩ε πόλις.
εὐχόμενος μετέπιτα θεῷ γεννήτορι πάντων
καὶ χαλκοῦ στήσιν νεύματι Θευδοσίου.

"Themistocles put up this statue of me, Theodorus, the ruler of the people of Achaea, with the consent of Athens."

"You see the leader Theodorus, who saved all the Greeks and their cities with (his) well and gently administered law. This is why Themistocles dedicated a stone statue of him in the city; for such was the decree of the city. Thereafter he prayed to the god, creator of all things, (in order) to set up also a bronze statue with the consent of Theodosius."

Cut on a reused round statue base (H. 0.79, diameter 0.73, LH. 0.012–0.028), used as an altar support in the church of Agia Aikaterine in Plaka. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

In line 1 ἀρχόν stands for proconsul.[89] This will be understood when the words εὐδικίῃσ' ἀγανῇσι | σῶσε Πανελλήνων σώματα καὶ πόλιας (lines 3–4) are interpreted within the framework of Late Roman epigrammatic phraseology: εὐδικίη/εὐνομίη is very frequently used in honorary epigrams for proconsuls and prefects, especially in praising their activities;[90] line 4 is especially important in this respect because it does not refer to any warlike operations but only praises the flourishing of

87 References to the epigram can be found in note 85 above. The relevant parts of the text include: ὡς ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἐὼν πάντων ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύκει | Σπάρτην τ' εὔανδρον τεῦξεν ἐρειπομένην.

88 As reported, for example, in Zosimus IV.18.2.

89 Theodorus has been identified as a proconsul after von Premerstein reconsidered his opinion on the alleged *dux Achivorum*, see von Premerstein (1923), 76; the fact of the matter is that already Kaibel (Kaibel (1878), commentary on no. 915) had professed his suspicions that we have here a proconsul.

90 Robert (1948), 22–24, 36–37, 91, 94, 97–98 and 103 give ample testimony to this. For the concept, see *id.*, 18–27.

Achaea as a result of Theodorus' prudent administration of the laws.[91] There are a couple of close parallels for this at Aphrodisias, the first of which deserves to be quoted: Ἀνθέμιε, [σ]ῴζων γὰρ ὁμοῦ δήμους τε πόλεις τε... Βερονικιανός... ἤνωγεν τεύχειν εἰκόνα μαρμαρέη[ν].[92]

One of the most striking features of our inscription is the explicit indication that there was a need for an imperial authorisation for a bronze statue, whereas a stone statue could be erected with the consent of the city alone (see lines 7–8 as opposed to line 6).[93]

Theodorus is a common name, which makes identifications dubious.[94] Presently our Theodorus is being kept apart from two other persons with the identical name, but who could be identified with him.[95] The first of them is Theodorus 17 in *PLRE* I, who had been a friend of Libanius at Antioch. He was well educated and influential at Constantinople from A.D. 388 until 390 and again in A.D. 393. It is this person that Groag speaks for, and consequently he suggests a date between A.D. 393 and 395.[96] The other possibility could be Theodorus 18 in *PLRE* I, who might be identical with Theodorus 17. He was the Prefect of Constantinople in A.D. 385 or 387.

Theodorus' identity remains unsolved, but no scholar has yet proposed that the name Theodosius could refer to the Emperor Theodosius II instead of Theodosius I, which would then set the identification of the Proconsul Theodorus in a totally different light. The later date seems unlikely, evidently due to the dearth of inscriptions in Achaea connected with the later emperor.

16. Raubitschek (1964), 64 (Agora inv. no. I 3542), taken up by *SEG* 38, no. 184: Honours to Iamblichus (the early 390's)

τοῦτον καὶ μετὰ πότμον ἀθ̣ωπευτοῖς γλυφίδεσσ̣[ι]
ὁ στεγανὸς τῖσεν πάγος Ἄρεος οὕνεκα πύργους
τείχεος ἔρκος ἔτευξεν Ἰάμβλιχος ὄλβον ὀπάσσας.

vacat

καὶ σ̣οφίῃ κόσμησεν Ἰάμβλιχος οὗτος Ἀθήνας
[καὶ Κρανα]ῇ̣ κρατερὸν̣ τε̣[ῖχος ἐπ]ῆ̣ρε πόλει. 5
[-----?]

"The silent hill of Areopagus honoured this man even after his death with carvings which cannot flatter him, Iamblichus, because he built the towers, the defence wall, giving it for the (common) weal."

---

91 This has perceptively been pointed out by Groag (1946), 63. See also Roueché (1989), no. 41 and *SEG* 16, no. 261 = Feissel in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985), no. 28 for additional evidence.

92 Roueché (1989), no. 36 for the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius. Another example is provided by the following no. 37 (both fifth century).

93 Wachsmuth (1874), 713–714; von Premerstein (1912b), 215–216; Feissel (1984), 545–558, especially 550 with note 30.

94 A possible candidate could be seen in Kent (1966), no. 517 = Feissel in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985), 364, no. 51*.

95 *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Theodorus 16.

96 Groag (1946), 64, with notes 1 and 2.

"This Iamblichus adorned Athens through his wisdom and also raised a mighty wall for the city of Kranaos. [---?]"

Two epigrams – the second obviously by another hand – cut on a fragment of a reused herm (preserved H. 0.505, W. 0.292, T. 0.238, LH. 0.003–0.027), found in the area of Stoa of Attalus in the Agora. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

This inscription definitely belongs to the end of the fourth century; the lettering of the epigrams favours this hypothesis strongly (see Appendix on scripts). The ancestry of Iamblichus as presented by Raubitschek has been corrected by Alan Cameron.[97] Iamblichus was a native of Apamea, son of Himerius and pupil of Libanius, but not the grandson of the great philosopher Iamblichus, who was also originally from Apamea.[98]

Before attempting to identify what kind of wall was fortified by Iamblichus, two issues deserve brief comment. Firstly, in line 2 the Areopagus is mentioned. The Council of Areopagus is addressed in Himerius[99] and the council in Julian's *Oratio* V;[100] this means they were still functioning in the fourth century. Secondly, it also seems that the intellectual pursuits of the honorand mentioned in the beginning of the second epigram are secondary reasons for the honours bestowed upon him.

After the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall there was a hiatus of around 100 years before another effort was undertaken for the protection of Athens. Probable reconstruction of the city wall near the Pnyx, in the time of Julian, was mentioned by Day.[101] Frantz reports[102] that by the end of the fourth century the settlement outside the Post-Herulian Wall was substantial enough to warrant restoring the Themistoclean circuit wall, which had fallen into disrepair after its restoration under Valerian and after the attack of A.D. 267. Frantz goes on to link the erection of the wall and the associated towers built by Iamblichus to the danger posed in the 390's by the invasion of the Visigoths under Alaric.[103] This circumstance, in fact, provides us with a date for the inscription: after Iamblichus' death (in A.D. 391?) but before the raid of 396.[104] Raubitschek's theory about the occasion and the place of the erection or dedication of the herm in the House of Julian remains purely hypothetical.[105]

17. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3674: Honours to the hierophant Erotius (fourth century)

Δηοῦς καὶ κούρης θεοΐκελον ἱεροφάντην
^{vv} κυδαίνων πατέρα στῆσε δόμοις Κλέαδας,
[Κ]εκροπίης σοφὸν ἔρνος Ἐρώτιον· ὧι ῥα καὶ αὐτός

97 See Cameron (1967), 146–153 for details.
98 See further in *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Iamblichus 2.
99 See note 77 above.
100 See note 76 above; compare also **13.** and **18.**
101 Day (1942), 265; the archaeological report was published in Thompson (1936), 200, where he chose Julian instead of Justinian from the ancient literary references.
102 Frantz (1988), 14–15, without referring to Iamblichus.
103 *Id.*, 51.
104 *Ead.* (1965), 192, suggests a date of about A.D. 400, but Zosimus, *Historia nova* V.5 relates that Alaric thought Athens was an easy target because her walls were too long to be defended by the Athenians.
105 Raubitschek (1964), 68.

ᵛᵛ Λερναίων ἀδύτων ἶσον ἔδεκτο γέρας.

vacat

"Cleadas erected (this statue of) his father in the temple of Demeter and Persephone, thus honouring him as the god-like hierophant of Demeter and Persephone, as the wise off-spring of the land of Cecrops, Erotius by name. Thus he himself also received the same dignity of (being the priest in) the innermost sanctuary of Lerna."

Cut on a slab (H. 0.30, W. 0.31, LH. 0.014), found in the area of the modern Metropolis church (see map in Fig. 2 b), removed to Oxford, but nowadays lost.

Although this inscription has been dated in the second or third century[106] or third century,[107] there are some features of this text and especially of another epigram closely related to it that could allow a date even in the later fourth century. As Cleadas is said to have received the priesthood not at Eleusis, but at Lerna, it is only natural that we identify him as the builder of a gate in Argos, commemorated in the *Greek Anthology* 9.688:

Τήνδε πύλην λάεσσιν εὐξέστοις ἀραρυῖαν,
ἀμφότερον κόσμον τε πάτρῃ καὶ θάμβος ὁδίταις,
τεῦξε Κλέης Κλεάδας ἀγανῆς πόσις εὐπατερείης,
Λερναίων ἀδύτων περιώσιος ὀργιοφάντης,
τερπόμενος δώροισιν ἀγασθενέων βασιλήων.

The fourth line of this epigram establishes the identity, while the fifth line probably refers to Late Roman emperors. Lerna and Eleusis figure also in *IG* II/III^2, no. 4841 (a taurobolic altar datable in the later fourth century) in a similar way as in our present inscription.

Finally, Follet has also suggested that this inscription could be of a late date, even though it cannot be dated more precisely.[108] In any case, it should be pointed out that this text possibly proves that the Eleusinian cult was still alive in Late Roman Athens, evidently with a temple.

18. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3716: Honours to [---]les of Melite (fourth century?)

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πά- ᵛᵛᵛᵛ
γου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βου-
ᵛ λὴ τῶν τριακοσίων
[--]λη Μελιτέα *vacat*
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν. ᵛᵛᵛ 5

"The Council of Areopagus and the Council of the 300 members (honour) [---]les from the deme of Melite, for his merits."

106 Kaibel (1878), no. 866 on the basis of the letter forms, followed by Kirchner in *IG* II/III^2, albeit without argumentation.
107 Dittenberger (1878), no. 719, does not explain his reasons for this date.
108 Follet (1976), 273, leaves the question more or less open.

Cut on a herm, found near Aglaurion on the northern slope of the Acropolis (see map in Fig. 2 b), but later lost. For its text we have to rely on two copies published by (the not always reliable) Pittakes, which are at variance with each other.[109]

There is nothing to indicate a late date except for the mention of the Council with 300 members, attested also in **13.**, dated after A.D. 372.[110] It is remarkable that the *demoticon* is still being used in contrast to the Hegias inscription (**11.** above). It is difficult to say why the number of the boule dropped so heavily in the fourth century. It is equally difficult to know about the honorand and the circumstances under which he was honoured by the two councils.

19. *IG* II/III^2, no. 4227: Honours to a proconsul (fourth century?)

[-----]
[-----ἀν]θυπάτου
[-----]νῃσιν ἐγείρας
[-----]ν ὀφειλομένην.
vacat

"[---] of a proconsul [---] having raised with [---] that is due."

Cut on a fragment of a reused statue base (preserved measurements: H. 0.19, W. 0.175, T. 0.220, LH. 0.022–0.027, excepting *phi*), found near the "Palace of the Giants" (near Odeum of Agrippa) in the Agora. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

The interpretation is very difficult due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, but the object itself is probably a fragment of a reused monument, evidently a statue base. On basis of this and the use of the verb ἐγείρω I am convinced that this is an honorary inscription rather than an epitaph.[111] Of the 37 active forms of this verb in the *Greek Anthology,* no more than four have anything to do with raising a grave monument,[112] whereas there are at least four examples of raising a statue,[113] and twice a city has been repaired.[114] It is difficult to decide between a statue and a building, perhaps, but a tombstone is certainly out of the question.[115] I think that the weak point in Peek's

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109 Pittakes (1835), 158 and 495.

110 See note 75 for references.

111 Peek (1942), 48, no. 70, edited this text as an epitaph: [--- ἀν]θυπάτου | [σορὸν δ' ὁδύ]νῃσιν ἐγείρας | [κάτθετο τὴν θανάτῳ μηδὲ]ν ὀφειλομένην. This has been rejected by Robert in *BEpigr* 1952, no. 54, comment on Peek's no. 70, although Robert himself had ignored this text in his monograph (Robert (1948)) on Late Roman epigrams.

112 *AP* 7.605; 8.189, 219, and 231.

113 *Id.* 9.809; 16.335, 360, and 361. All of these are mid-fifth century or Justinianic, being the statues of Pindar and of the charioteer Porphyrius.

114 *Id.* 9.696, dated in A.D. 399, when Theodorus raised Constantinople τετραπόροις ἀψῖσι during his consulship; *id.* 16.42 is an honorary statue base for the Proconsul Theodosius, probably fifth century: Τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλαῖς Θεοδόσιον, Ἀσίδος ἀρχόν, | εἰκόνι μαρμαρέῃ στήσαμεν ἀνθύπατον, | οὕνεκα Σμύρναν ἔγειρε καὶ ἤγαγεν ἐς φάος αὖθις | ἔργοις θαυμασίοις πολλὸν ἀειδομένην. Add to these *AP* 9.811 referring probably to an area (ἐμὲ χῶρον ἐγείρει) established by the Emperor Justinian, evidently with buildings.

115 The thickness of the monument may be used as an argument; Peek is unwilling to see any parallels between this text and *IG* II/III^2, nos. 4224–4226, simply because they are honours to prefects, not

interpretation of the text as an epitaph is his choice of the vaguest word ἐγείρω for interpreting the whole.

With this in mind I adduce further parallels: Roueché (1989), nos. 39 and 40, both dated in the mid-fifth century, concern themselves with the restoration and remodelling of the East Agora Gate by a *praeses* and a σχολαστικὸς καὶ πατὴρ (τῆς πόλεως). On the basis of these and *AP* 16.281, line 6: τεῦξέ μιν (a bath is referred to) οἰκείοις χρήμασι καὶ δαπάναις, I would be ready to suggest a restoration [ἰδίαις δαπά]νῃσιν ἐγείρας in line 2. It is difficult to know whether the masculine participle refers to the building activity of the proconsul or to the body of citizens (δῆμος *vel simile*) responsible for erecting the statue of the proconsul. The last line, with its almost totally lost trochaic word in the accusative connected to the passive participle ὀφειλομένην, would make a strong case for a statue. Without wanting to follow in Peek's footsteps by restoring too much, I would be inclined to see a word for statue (εἰκόνα *vel simile*) in line 1 depending on the word [ἀν]θυπάτου. In this case the possible reasons for erecting a statue would have been reported in the line(s) missing above, whereas the details of its erection – or possibly further reasons – were given in the last two lines.[116]

As this is an apparent surface find, it would indeed be very hypothetical to bring this inscription in connection with either the building of the "Palace of the Giants"[117] or the massive rectangular base for a statue of very considerable size, around 45 metres north of the entrance to the "Palace of the Giants".[118]

20. von Premerstein (1912a), 30–31, taken up by *SEG* 38, no. 196: Labels pertaining to philosophical schools (fourth century?)

A.	B.	C.
vacat Στωϊκῶν *vacat*	*vacat* Κυνικῶν *vacat*	[*vacat?* Ἐπικουρε]ίων. *vacat*

"Of the Stoics"; "Of the Cynics"; "Of the Epicureans."

Cut on two reused door jambs (A.: H. 0.28–0.30, preserved W. 3, T. 0.41–0.43, LH. 0.165–0.18; C.: H. 0.29–0.30, preserved W. 1.27, T. 0.42, LH. 0.155–0.165) and one reused lintel (B.: H. 0.26, W. 2.57, T. 0.48) connected with each other, found in the church of Agia Dynamis on Metropoleos Street (A.), and near the church of Agios Seraphim on the northern (B., now lost) slope and near the Asklepieion on the southern (C.) slope of the Acropolis. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

Although the lettering of these inscriptions is identical, it is extremely difficult to propose more than a very vague date: from around the later third to the fourth century.

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to proconsuls. Peek erred similarly in interpreting the epigram for the Empress Eudocia as a funerary epigram, rather than as an honorary inscription: see **33.** below.

116 The trebling of the intermediate interlinear space at the bottom of the text proves that there were no more lines to this epigram. Another epigram below the broken edge is a possibility not be ignored.

117 The date suggested by Frantz (1988), 65, note 51, for the building of the Palace between A.D. 410–425 would not destroy the hypothesis, but judging by the letter forms – we really do not have anything else to judge by – the connection would seem improbable.

118 This theory is proposed in the commentary of the honorary inscription for the Empress Eudocia, see **33.** below. There the problem is the alleged date of the base – sometime in the fourth century *pace* Frantz (1988), 60 – and here the problem is the fact that the base itself carried no inscription, but probably supported a columnar pedestal for a statue, as is conjectured *id.*, 109, which necessitates further study of the plan and purpose of the "Round Building" and other nearby buildings, see *id.*, 109–110.

It is equally difficult to explain the function of these blocks with certainty. Until recently, the blocks were thought to be epistyles belonging to different philosophical schools.[119] They were then connected with the building activities of the Proconsul Cervonius, mentioned in Himerius' speech.[120] The date was then established in the third[121] or rather in the fourth century,[122] but not accepted by Kirchner.[123] Von Premerstein was audacious enough to suggest a theory that the inscriptions belonged to one of the *gymnasia* in the northern side of town.[124]

More recently, Frantz has studied these objects thoroughly. It appears that they were originally door jambs and a lintel, reused for texts between the second century and Late Antiquity, used in some way in one single building devoted to intellectual pursuits.[125]

21. Frantz (1979), 203 (Epigraphical Museum inv. no. EM 1861), taken up by *SEG* 29, no. 200: A dedication to emperors on an epistyle (fourth century?)

[-----θει]οτάτων δεσ[ποτῶν-----].

"[---] of the most divine Emperors... [---]"

Cut on a fragment of an epistyle block (H. 0.43, preserved W. 2.65, T. 0.24, LH. 0.15–0.17), found in Plaka. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

As the text mentions emperors in the genitive case, it very probably is a part of a dedicatory formula from a building inscription.

The words θειότατοι δεσπόται probably refer to emperors of the fourth or the fifth century.[126] There is no other clue to a more precise date for this building. In any case, the building that this inscription belonged to cannot be identical with that mentioned in **10.** or **26.** in this study.

IV. Inscriptions Postdating A.D. 396

This chapter brings together the public[127] inscriptions from the period after the incursion of Alaric and his Visigoths in A.D. 396. The omission of public Christian texts is due to a change in the categories "public" and "private" in Christian epigraphic culture.

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119 Judeich (1905), 100 with note 4; von Premerstein (1912a), 30–32; Judeich (1931), 105, with note 5; Day (1942), 265, note 11.

120 Himerius, *Oratio* XXXVIII (ed. Colonna (1951)), quoted quite extensively by Wachsmuth (1874), 712, note 1.

121 Judeich (1905), 100, note 4, has doubts about a later date.

122 von Premerstein (1912a), 31 convinced Judeich (1931), 105, note 5, to revise his view. Day followed both of them (Day (1942), 265, note 11).

123 Without giving a reason, Kirchner suggested a date in the first or the second century in his edition of Κυνικῶν in *IG* II/III^2, no. 5184.

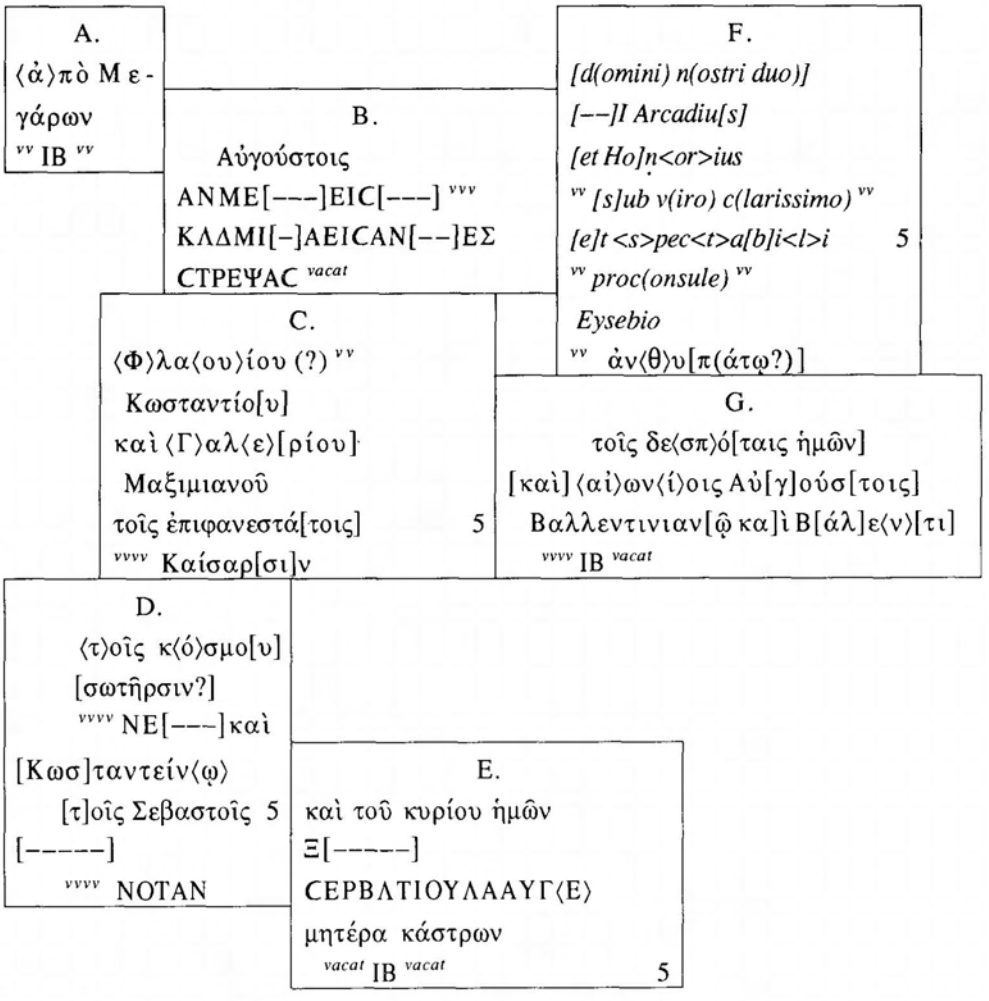
124 von Premerstein (1912a), 32, suggests Ptolemaion or Diogeneion.

125 Frantz (1988), 62–63.

126 The word δεσπότης gained in popularity in the beginning of the fourth century, compare Hagedorn (1980), 176, who dates the change from κύριος to δεσπότης in Egypt between the years A.D. 298 and 308, with some exceptions.

127 The following seven characteristically Early Christian votive, dedicatory and building inscriptions have been omitted from this paper:

22. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5203: A milestone from Mandra with seven texts (Severan period until A.D. 397)



A.: "From Megara 12 miles."
B.: "To the *Augusti* [---]"
C.: "To the most renowned *Caesares* Flavius (?) Constantius and Galerius Maximianus."

+ ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ παν{τοσ}τὸς τοῦ οἴκο⟨υ⟩ αὐτοῦ edited in Lenormant (1862), 379; [τ]ὸν ἅγιον Ἀνδρέαν, studied in Creaghan and Raubitschek (1947), 29, no. XI; τῆς Θ[ε]οτόκου, taken up by *BEpigr* 1963, no. 88; [ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς (?) -----]ωνίου κ(αὶ) Στρατονίκου taken up by *SEG* 15, no. 140; [ὑ]πὲρ εὐχῆς οὗ ὁ ⟨Θ⟩(εὸ)ς οἶδεν τὸ [ὄνομ]α καὶ τὸν ἀριφνὸν ἐκαλιέργησεν (=*SEG* 15, no. 141); αὔτ[η ἡ] πύλη τοῦ λυτρ(ωτ)οῦ, δή[καιοι] | ἠσελεύσοντε ἐν αὐτῇ edited in *IG* II/III^2, no. 5207; [-----κ]αὶ πάντων τῶν πρ[-----] | [-----] τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ἐ[πεσκεύασε?] edited in *IG* II/III^2, no. 5215.

D.: "To the Saviours of the World [---] and Constantine, the *Augusti* [---]"
E.: "[---?---] and of our Master [---] *mater castrorum*. 12 miles."
F.: "Our two Masters [---?] Arcadius and Honorius, during the proconsulship of the *vir clarissimus et spectabilis* Eusebius, the proconsul."
G.: "To our Masters and eternal *Augusti* Valentinian and Valens. 12 miles."

Cut on a columnar milestone (H. 1.15, diameter 0.37–0.43, LH. 0.015–0.018), found near Eleusis, but now lost.

As the two editions[128] prior to *IG* II/III^2, no. 5203, are at variance with each other, I have decided to make use of all of the available information in them; the position of the various inscriptions on the stone has been taken from the *CIL,* although the copy is often at variance with the edition of the text and does not seem to be as reliable as Milchhöfer.

Three of these texts indicate a distance of 12 miles, A. from Megara, E. and G. equally possibly from Athens. Texts B. and E. remain virtually undeciphered, whereas the texts C., D., F., and G. can reasonably well be attributed (chronologically) to the reigns of the Emperors Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, Arcadius and Honorius, as well as of the *Caesares* Constantius and Galerius.

Some major issues concerning each of the texts may be mentioned in passing. Text A. shows the importance of Megara in the Late Roman network of roads in Achaea. Text B. is in Greek; the word Αὐγούστοις in the first line is paralleled in another, otherwise Latin milestone found near Eleusis (see **25.**). Text C. can be dated between A.D. 305 and 306, when Constantius Chlorus and Galerius were in power. There are some difficulties in the reading of Constantius' name. Note the change from the genitive case into the dative case. Text D. could date from the very beginning of Constantine's career as an emperor, because he is mentioned as the second regent. Text E. seems to belong to the Severan period, as it has the phrases κύριος ἡμῶν and μητέρα κάστρων. It is, however, exceptional to have an empress in a milestone, and even more perplexing to see it in the accusative case, common in imperial dedications. Text F. is one of the four almost identical Latin milestones preserved in Attica (see **23.**C.–**25.**). The new high rank of *clarissimus et spectabilis* is here attested at a very early date, between A.D. 396 and 401.[129] Eusebius was the Proconsul of Achaea, possibly in A.D. 397, as has been suggested by Molisani.[130] He is also recorded in a fifth milestone (at Patrae, *CIL* III, no. 573), providing strong evidence for repairs undertaken during this time on the road from Patrae to Athens. Text G. brings us back to the reign of Valentinian and Valens between A.D. 364 and 375. Note that Βαλλεντινιανός is usually spelled with a *beta* and two *lambdas,* at least in Greece, and Valens is spelled in most cases with εντ- in the oblique cases.[131]

This milestone has been excessively reused, but there are numerous examples of two or three different uses for a milestone, and often the inscriptions have been carved

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128 Milchhöfer (1887), 328–329, no. 488, being virtually nothing but a copy, and *CIL* III, no. 7308.

129 Groag (1946), 71, note 1.

130 Molisani (1977), 307–312: supposing Eusebius was Stilicho's favorite, he must have been a proconsul before Stilicho was announced a *hostis publicus* in the East in late A.D. 397. The restoration of the road became a necessity after the devastation wrought by Alaric in Greece between A.D. 396 and 397, prior to his expulsion from Greece in A.D. 397.

131 For Valentinian, see the next milestone and Feissel in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985), nos. 5–7. *Id.*, no. 8 Βαλεντινιανοῦ is just a copy of Cyriacus of Ancona. For an exception in the case of Valens, see *id.*, no. 5: Βάλητα.

without regard to previous ones.[132] This usually results in ambiguities in reading and interpreting the different texts, as is the case here.

23. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5204: A milestone from Daphni with three texts (from the third century until A.D. 397)

A.	B.	C.
αὐτοκράτορι	[-----?]	*d(omini) n(ostri duo) I[–]*
Κ⟨α⟩ίσαρι⟦--*ca.* 6--⟧	Σεβα[*vacat*]-	*Arcadiu[s]*
⟦-----*ca.* 13-----⟧	στοῖς Βαλλ[εν]-	*[e]t Honor[(ius)]*
εὐσεβεῖ εὐτυχε[ῖ]	τινιανῷ ^{v}	^{vv} *sub v(iro) c(larissimo)*
Σεβαστῶι *vacat* 5	καὶ Βάλεν-	*[e]t spectab[(ili)]* 5
[ἐ]ξ ἄστεως ^{vvv}	^{vvvv} τι ^{vvv} 5	^{vv} *proc(onsule)* ^{vv}
		Eusebio ^{vv}
		vacat
		^{vvv} *s(ex milia passuum)* ^{vvv}
		+

A.: "To the Emperor *Caesar* [name deleted] *pius felix Augustus*. From the city (of Athens) six (miles)."
B.: "[---?] to the *Augusti* Valentinian and Valens."
C.: "Our two Masters [---?] Arcadius and Honorius, during the proconsulship of the *vir clarissimus et spectabilis* Eusebius. Six (miles)."

Cut on a quadrangular pillar (H. 1.48, W. 0.28–0.29, T. 0.23, LH.(A) 0.019–0.027, LH.(B) 0.015–0.045, LH.(C) 0.023–0.055), found in Daphni between Eleusis and Athens beside the ancient Sacred Way.

There are a couple of clues for dating inscription A.: in inscriptions of Central Achaea the Greek equivalent to *imperator Caesar* was used in front of the *cognomen* of the emperor from the times of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus until at least Constans I, and *pius felix* became a feature in the imperial titulature from the reign of Commodus on, transforming in the fourth century into *pius felix invictus*. Taking into account the erasure of around 19 letter spaces in lines 2 and 3 makes the restoring of the following names of emperors with *damnatio memoriae* possible: Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Maximinus I, Gordian III, Maximian I and Constans I, all with 20 to 22 letters, if restored in the dative case. In conclusion, this text could date from the early third until the mid-fourth century, Constans I being a possibility.[133] Inscription C. has several textual problems. In line 1 the trace of a vertical stroke seems to be superfluous, because the space available will not permit the reading *Augusti*, not even *AGG*.[134] In line 3 the name of the Emperor Honorius cannot have been written in full, due to lack of space.

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132 Compare, for example, *IG* VII, no. 2451, and *IG* X 2,1, no. 1009.

133 *AEpigr* 1984, no. 819, opts for a date in the second or the fourth century, although without justification, when summing up the article by Molisani (1977), mentioned in note 130 above.

134 There is no evidence for the existence of *Augusti* in the Attic companion pieces to this inscription. The text from Patrae (*CIL* III, no. 573), transmitted only by a copyist, has the letters *AVGG*, but this is in the middle of the text, in line 4.

24. The lower part of *IG* II/III^2, no. 2987: A milestone from Daphni under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (A.D. 397)

^{vv} d(omini) n(ostri duo) ^{vv}
Arcadius ^{v}
et Honorius
^{vvv} su[b v(iro) c(larissimo)]
et [s]pec[tabili?] 5
[proc(onsule)]
Eus[ebio]
[-----?].

Cut in the lower part of a reused stele (H. 1.67, W. 0.55–0.575, T. 0.40–0.405, LH. 0.026–0.047), found in the monastery of Daphni. Later on, a large cross was carved to cover the area of the inscription.

See the previous companion pieces **22.**F. and **23.**C. for the contents and translation of this inscription.

Perdrizet suggested in his *editio princeps* that the number of miles was expressed by the sign H;[135] this seems to be wrong, since it denotes the number eight in the Greek system. The previous companion piece would rather recommend S to be restored here for *S(ex milia passuum)*.

The proconsul Eusebius was very probably a pagan.[136] The misconception of his Christianity has probably come about due to the cross printed in Mommsen's edition of the text in *CIL* III *Suppl.* 14203, 27, subsequently taken into a collection of Early Christian Latin inscriptions.[137] This has all been a result of insufficient knowledge of the monument itself. It is not uncommon to see different kind of crosses added in later, even modern times, on inscriptions. Our case may be seen as a way to express that the object was being reused.

25. Peek (1942), 157, no. 331 (Eleusis inv. no. E 712): A milestone from Eleusis (?) under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (A.D. 397)

Αὐγούστοις
d(omini) n(ostri duo) Arcadius
et Honorius
sub v(iro) c(larissimo) et spe-
cta{v}b(ili) procons(ule) 5
Eusebio ☧
^{vacat} s(ex milia passuum?). ^{vvv}

135 Perdrizet (1897), 572.
136 von Haehling (1978), 173–174. *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Eusebius 7, still dates the proconsulship between A.D. 395 and 402, obviously without knowledge of Molisani's contribution.
137 Diehl (1925), no. 17, evidently taken over from *CIL*.

Cut on a reused slab (preserved H. 0.83, preserved W. 0.41, T. 0.14–0.185, LH. 0.012–0.036), reported to have been found in Eleusis.

A very important question is whether this inscription is to be regarded as a dedication, as proposed by Sasel Kos,[138] or a milestone, as is generally accepted. Sasel Kos thinks that the dative case would indicate that this is a dedication, on which point I disagree.[139] The second argument concerns the monument, which in Sasel Kos' mind is probably not a milestone. But with the previous text we have seen that drastic reuses in case of milestones are not impossible. The third objection raised by Sasel Kos refers to the last line of the text: the stone must have been brought from another place if *S* is to be resolved in *s(ex milia passuum)*. Sasel Kos speaks for *s(acrum)*. This is the most difficult argument to challenge: either we have to suppose a transfer of the stone or accept the reading *s(acrum)*. But on the other hand, a dedication is an implausible interpretation in view of the four other inscriptions carved on evident milestones with a similar phrasing.[140] I cannot see how such crude pieces could be reused for imperial dedications – and in the nominative case, which is altogether implausible for an imperial dedication – and be scattered in Daphni, Mandra, Eleusis (and Patrae in the Peloponnesus), all along the Patrae-Athens road.

26. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5205: The Diogeneion (?), rebuilt by the Proconsul (Flavius?) Severus Aëtius (A.D. 396–401)

[ὑ]πὲρ νίκης καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀθανάτου δια[μο]νῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμέ[νης *vacat*]
Φλ(αβίου) Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Φλ(αβίου) Ὀνωρίου τῶν ἀηττήτω[ν Αὐγού]στων *vvv*
ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) ἀνθ(ύπατος) τῆς Ἑλλάδος *vacat*
[Φλ(άβιος)?] Σεούηρος Ἀέτιος κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων τὸ Δ[ιογένειον (?)
μετὰ τῶν πρ]οπυλαίων. *vacat*

> "For the victory, safety, and immortal endurance of the Masters of the Universe, Flavius Arcadius and Flavius Honorius the unvanquished *Augusti, vir clarissimus,* the Proconsul of Achaea, (Flavius?) Severus Aëtius rebuilt from the foundations the Diogeneion (?) with its porches."

Cut on a reused epistyle block broken in two (H. 0.64–0.67, preserved W. 2.67 and 2.25, T. 0.64, LH. 0.044–0.095), found south of the church of Agios Eleutherios. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

The text itself presents very few striking features among inscriptions of this kind. In line 1 the regnal formula does not follow the more typical wording καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν. In line 2 the word Ἑλλάδος seems to be rare in this

138 Sasel Kos (1979), 57, no. 127 presents all of the arguments.

139 There are innumerable milestones in the dative case: compare the excessively reused **22.**B. (first line Αὐγούστοις).C.D.G., **23.**A.B., and *IG* V 2, p. 5, lines 127–139, *IG* VII, no. 2451 (the former text), *IG* X 2,1, no. 1009 and *IG* XII 9, no. 146A.

140 See **22.**F., **23.**C., **24.** above, and *CIL* III, no. 573 from Patrae.

connection.[141] It must be noted that κατασκευάζειν ἐκ θεμελίων might suggest the rebuilding of a structure that had been destroyed down to its foundations.[142]

The date is established between A.D. 396 and 401 on the basis of the reigns of the two emperors before Theodosius II was proclaimed Augustus in A.D. 402; A.D. 395 is occupied by the proconsul Antiochus. The identity (and even the full name) of our proconsul has received various opinions, of which nowadays none is regarded as being certain.

A more important issue is the construction of such a large building – as it would seem – in Athens at such a late date by a proconsul. Frantz suggests that the building would be the Diogeneion, the abode of the ephebes.[143] She proposes one objection to her own theory: the accepted belief (based on the lack of ephebic inscriptions with dates later than A.D. 267) that the *ephebia* ceased to exist after the Herulian invasion and was never revived.[144] She also suggests a solution for this: the Diogeneion could have continued in use as a simple gymnasium,[145] or perhaps the institution had died away slowly.

27. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5021: The bema of the theatre of Dionysus, built by the archon Phaedrus (the later fourth/early fifth century)

σοὶ τόδε καλὸν ἔτευξε, φιλόργιε, βῆμα θεήτρου
Φαῖδρος Ζωΐλου βιοδώτορος Ἀτθίδος ἀρχός.

"For you, lover of passionate rites, this beautiful stage has been built by Phaedrus, son of Zoïlus, archon of the livelihood-giving land of Attica."

Cut on a geison (H. 0.235–0.245, W. 0.955, T. 1.83, LH. 0.014–0.033, excepting *phi*), being the top step of a little flight of stairs leading from the orchestra to the stage in the Theatre of Dionysus. *In situ*. (See map in Fig. 2 b)

The text carries two hexameters recording the dedication of a newly built bema for the Theatre of Dionysus by the archon Phaedrus.

The vocabulary of the epigram is rather full of rare poetic words: φιλόργιος,[146] βιοδώτωρ,[147] Ἀτθίς,[148] and ἀρχός.[149] βιοδώτωρ Ἀτθίς refers to the fertile Attica, implying that ἀρχός is here the local authority, not the Roman proconsul as was the case in **15.** studied above.

Probably no other Late Roman inscription of Achaea has caused such a wide-spread disagreement as the date for the reconstruction of the bema of Phaedrus. This is not the place to enumerate all the various dates proposed by the earlier scholars studying this

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141 The word is present in **13.** and **14.**, but absent from four identical Latin milestones from A.D. 397 (**22.**F., **23.**C., **24.**, and **25.**).

142 Frantz (1979b), 199. Compare also similar texts in Roueché (1989), nos. 19–20.

143 For details, see Frantz (1979b), 199–203.

144 *Id.*, 203.

145 *Ibid.*

146 This word has been commented upon by Bowersock in *ead.* (1982), 34, note 2.

147 Attested both epigraphically and in the *Greek Anthology: AP* 14.72.

148 Compare *id.* 7.573, line 1: ἔτρεφεν Ἀτθὶς ἄρουρα, to which the use in the restricted meaning 'Athens' should be contrasted: *AP* 2.84. Thus, in our case it would have been historically more correct to translate here: "...archon of (...) Athens."

149 This word has already been commented upon in **15.**

inscription. The proposed dates were in the beginning as early as the second century after Christ. I propose to defend a date around A.D. 400, following Graindor, who first proposed a date in the late fourth to early fifth century,[150] the generally accepted date.[151]

Arguments used for the proposed dates may be grouped in three classes: 1) considerations of script, 2) archaeological or architectural or art historical, and 3) historical. Here it is impossible to go into the details of the numerous arguments; some of the scholars were even diligent enough to recur to more than one argument.[152] The following will concentrate on Frantz,[153] at the same time disagreeing with some of her points.

After having dismissed not only the archaeological aspects, but also considerations of script as unreliable, Frantz turns to literary and historical points of view. She claims that the assembly place was always referred to in Eunapius by the word τὸ θέατρον, supposing that one of the real theatres was being meant.[154] This should be corrected, as several examples of the loose meaning 'audience' in Eunapius can be found.[155] Be that as it may, Frantz advances a theory according to which the Theatre of Dionysus functioned as the seat of the assembly, restored between A.D. 300 and 345 after fairly extensive repairs necessitated by the alleged Herulian raid in this area.[156] She gets the *terminus ante quem* from a story in Eunapius recalling the visit of the Praetorian Prefect Anatolius in Athens in A.D. 345/346.[157] This theory has been doubted by Rügler, who sees no evidence for a revitalised Athens in the fourth century: only small repairs were undertaken and, more importantly in our case, Rügler claims that there was no need for a whole bema to be constructed for the visit of Anatolius because the speaker could have stood on a provisory wooden platform.[158] I would like to raise another doubt: is it not strange that the Athenians would have lived for more than a quarter of a century (A.D. 267 until around 300) without an assembly place? Maybe the question of the date of the destruction – whether in A.D. 267 or in A.D. 396 – of the southern slope of Acropolis should be left open with the data presently available. This is all the more apposite as the archaeologist Rügler has shown that the existence of an evidently restricted area ravaged in the Cerameicus does not allow us to suppose that also lower Athens suffered at the hands of Alaric.[159] The evidence for a later raid (by Alaric) should be studied all around

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150 Graindor (1922), 269–271 in no. 187, and *id.* (1924), 75 in no. 111.

151 See *Archontum Tabulae*, 796 (in *IG* II/III^2, *pars altera*, edited by Kirchner), Kirchner's edition of *IG* II/III^2, no. 5021 four years later in 1935, *id.* (1938), and *id.* (1948), no. 150. Others include Day (1942), 259, note 35, and p. 265, note 11; Frantz (1965), 191 and 196 (later on she preferred an earlier date); Travlos (1971), 538; Maass (1972), 45; Samuel (1972), 237; Sturgeon (1977), 44; Castrén (1989), 46; Rügler (1990), 280–281.

152 Dittenberger (1878) uses the first two arguments in his commentary on no. 239, followed by Roberts and Gardner (1905), no. 246. Graindor (1922), 269–271 has taken advantage of all three groups of argumentation. Frantz (1982) and *ead.* (1988), 25, has looked at the problem from many points of view, but she regards only the historical argumentation as significant. Castrén (1989), 46, and Rügler (1990), 280–281, have considered both archaeological and historical issues.

153 The more detailed argumentation in Frantz (1982) will be taken under consideration instead of the later assertion (*ead.* (1988), 25), which is based on some references to the earlier in-depth study.

154 *Ead.* (1982), 36–37.

155 Eunapius, *VS* X.4.8; X.5.2–4; X.6.10. Private lecture halls are referred to in *id.* IX.1.5–6. A real theatre is probably meant in *id.* X.4.10; X.5.5; X.7.7.

156 Frantz (1982), 37–38.

157 The quotations *id.*, 37, notes 18–19, are represented by Eunapius, *VS* X.5.5 and X.7.7 (ed. Giangrande (1956)).

158 Rügler (1990), 280–281.

159 *Id.*, 289–290.

the Acropolis. Rügler leaves a momentous question hanging in the air as to the cause of the rapid increase in construction work during the early fifth century.[160]

One further point emphasised by Frantz in favour of an earlier date for the bema must be examined. She thinks that such a pagan monument as the bema of Phaedrus would fit in better with the more tolerant attitude of Constantine than with that of his successors.[161] I doubt whether a monument with a reused frieze could be regarded as distinctively pagan in flavour at Athens, especially in the traditional environment of the Theatre of Dionysus. I think we should not suppose Christian resistance in Athens in such matters before the middle of the fifth century.[162]

Even though Frantz has claimed that the long-accepted date of around A.D. 400 has no solid basis, I point to the problems inherent in Frantz' own argumentation, presented above. I have approached the question from an epigraphical point of view, stressing especially the script itself. The execution of the letters on the marble is careless, giving the text a clumsy overall appearance. The lettering is comparable to that of the Iamblichus inscription (**16.** above) with the addition of one further, even later feature, the droplike omicron (see Appendix on scripts). This is all the more remarkable as we are dealing with a monumental building inscription in such a prominent place, dedicated by an archon. I think this is roughly contemporary with – or later than – the Iamblichus inscription, dated in the early 390's.

We know very little about Phaedrus, the person behind the dedication. He is one of the only five archons known from the post-Herulian period.[163] He must have been quite well-off, even though neither this nor the text of the sundial of Phaedrus (identified with this Phaedrus and studied in **28.** below) explicitly says that he was rich. On the other hand, neither of the inscriptions probably had this in view, the bema inscription being nothing more than a straightforward dedicatory epigram, and the other even more plain in its intent. An earlier archon, Hegias, was expressly honoured for his generosity in office-holding, but his was a more traditional and more verbose inscription (see **11.**). We may be entitled to regard Phaedrus as a member of a prominent family. This could be argued on the basis of his status as archon, as well as by the filiation as the son of Zoïlus, expressed in both inscriptions. Filiation is rare in Late Roman inscriptions of Attica,[164] as it is also at Aphrodisias.[165] The lack of evidence here makes me doubt whether we may make too far-reaching conclusions about Phaedrus' role in the society of Late Roman Athens. We know nothing certain about the forces behind the building of this bema.[166]

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160 *Id.*, 291.

161 Frantz (1982), 38, and *ead.* (1988), 19 and 25.

162 Even though we know no certain date for the epigram on a restored theatre in Ephesus presented by Kaibel (1878), no. 1050, as being of the fourth century or later, we do have a prosaic διατύπωσις from Sparta in Feissel (in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985)), no. 24, recording the restoration of a theatre in A.D. 359 under the Proconsul Ampelius, mentioned also by Frantz (1988), 21, and another inscription (*SEG* 32, no. 400) on an epistyle block from the last building period (probably A.D. 402–408) of the same theatre, with the names of the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius II.

163 Hegias (see **11.** above) in the early fourth century, Hermogenes in A.D. 386/7 (*IG* II/III^2, no. 4842), Theagenes in the middle of the fifth century, as presented by *Suda*, Θ 78: Θεαγένης, and Nicagoras the Younger in A.D. 484/5 according to Marinus 36 are the only known archons in addition to Phaedrus in this period.

164 If we look outside the later third century (Dexippus and Claudius Illyrius in **1.**–**3.**), we have Hegias, the son of Timocrates (**11.**), dated in the fourth century.

165 Roueché (1989), xx.

166 Frantz (1982), 39 suggests the Proconsul Cervonius as a possibly conceivable benefactor (praised by Himerius), but this remains pure conjecture.

28. *IG* II/III^2, no. 5208: The sundial of Phaedrus (the later fourth/early fifth century)

Φαῖδρος Ζωΐλου
Παιανιεὺς ἐποίε[ι].

"Phaedrus, son of Zoïlus, from the deme of Paeania, had (this sundial) made."

Cut on a sundial (H. 0.49, W. 1.00, T. 0.40, LH. 0.028–0.042, excluding *phi*), on the extreme left of its four deviating vertical disks; the object was found in the church of Agios Eleutherios (see map in Fig. 2 b) and removed to the British Museum.

It is indeed very rare to indicate the filiation and the deme in a Late Roman inscription.[167] But this has been no obstacle in assigning this text to a date around the turn of the fourth into the fifth century.[168] Earlier it had been dated into the Antonine or the Severan period but generally identified with the dedicant of the bema after it was found in 1862.[169] For further references on Phaedrus, see the end of commentary on **27.**, the bema inscription.

29. *IG* II/III^2, no. 3818: Honours to the sophist Plutarchus (the later fourth/early fifth century)

δῆμος ⟨Ἐ⟩ρεχθῆος βασιλῆ⟨α⟩ λόγων ἀνέθηκεν
Πλούταρχον σταθερῆς ἕρμα σαοφροσύνης·
ὃς καὶ τρὶς ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀθηναίης ἐπέλασσεν
ναῦν ἐλάσας ἱερήν, πλοῦτον ὅλον προχέας.

"The people of Erechtheus dedicated (this statue of) Plutarchus, the king of words, the mainstay of firm prudence, who rowed the Sacred Ship three times in all near to the temple of Athena, spending all his wealth."

Cut on the right side of a reused rectangular statue base (see **11.** for the measurements, provenience and reuses of the stone); LH. 0.015–0.021.

The text tells us how the people of Athens dedicated a statue in honour of Plutarchus for his generosity involving the Panathenaic procession. The most important historical aspect of this document is its evidence for the continuation of this procession probably into the fifth century. We do not know whether there was a break in the immediate years after the Herulian raid and a revival of the festival in the fourth century.[170] In any case

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167 For the filiation, see notes 164 and 165 above. As for the *demoticon*, we have only one example (**18.**), possibly from the fourth century.

168 Most notably in Kirchner's edition of *IG* II/III^2, no. 5208.

169 A striking exception in this respect is Graindor, who regards the dedicant of the sundial as an ancestor to the dedicant of the bema, especially on the basis of the lettering: Graindor (1922), 270.

170 See Frantz (1988), 20, 23, 26, and Himerius' account of the procession in *Oratio* XLVII.12–13 (ed. Colonna (1951)).

the evidence for any kind of contests in Athens after the middle of the third century is very scanty. It is all the more striking that our inscription records the Panathenaic ship procession as taking place three times in the early fifth (or in the last decade of the fourth) century; this could imply regular celebration of the festival. A few notes may be added before turning to the question of the identity of Plutarchus. The word ἀνέθηκε is not as rare in Late Roman inscriptions as has been previously thought.[171] The last three words of the epigram need not be anything but a pun, so popular in Late Roman epigrams, on the name Plutarchus.[172]

It has long been debated whether the Plutarchus in this epigram is identical with the founder of the Neoplatonic School or just a contemporary sophist of the same name. He has been regarded as a sophist without explicit argumentation by Graindor and Castrén,[173] whereas Keil comes to the same conclusion by virtue of the title βασιλεὺς λόγων,[174] which has often been used as an argument for his being a sophist. Another approach is to refer to another contemporary inscription (**31.**), which records a dedication to the Praetorian Prefect Herculius (around A.D. 408–410) by a certain Plutarchus, characterised as μύθων ταμίης σοφιστής. Pittakes, Dittenberger, Curtius, Robert, Millar and *PLRE* identify these two sophists.[175]

Support for an identification with the Neoplatonist philosopher Plutarchus, however, continues in publications by Kaibel, Groag, Creaghan (with Raubitschek), Frantz (in the sixties), Blumenthal, Nagy and Fowden.[176] Blumenthal's and Fowden's points are unconvincing. Blumenthal freely identifies the two persons.[177] He thinks the "wealthy man" who financed the journey of the Sacred Ship is the scholarch. He also connects **31.** with him and says that σοφιστής has been used, because φιλόσοφος is impossible in verse; the scholar's definition of rhetoric in his commentary on *Gorgias* is an equally weak argument in my opinion. Neither does the fact that σοφιστής had lost its pejorative connotations corroborate his identification. Fowden's arguments are no better: Damascius' fragmentary *Vita Isidori* fr. 273 (ed. Zintzen (1967)) says nothing explicit about Neoplatonist support for the Panathenaea.[178] More recently Fowden supports his view by citing Synesius' unclear allusion in *Epistolae* 136 (ed. Hercher (1873)): ξυνωρὶς τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν Πλουταρχείων.[179] It is difficult to understand how this passage could refer to the followers of the philosopher Plutarchus, as Fowden assumes. That the

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171 In contradiction to Robert (1948), 106, note 6, see **15.**; see also *id.*, 103, 115, 117, and Roueché (1989), nos. 11, 12, 28, 62 and 65.

172 This pun may well have been repeated in the next inscription, line 8, which I think is an honorary inscription to the Neoplatonist philosopher of the same name. Compare also Roueché (1989), no. 39.

173 Graindor (1924), 76, no. 114, and Castrén (1989), 47.

174 See Keil (1859), 493. The words βασιλεὺς λόγων and similar expressions have been shown by Robert (Robert (1948), 95–96, with notes 8–9 and 1–4) to expand their popularity from the second century on until the fifth, including Philostratus, Lucian, Gregory of Nazianzus and Himerius. I shall cite only Eunapius, *VS* X.7.4 (ed. Giangrande (1956)): ἡ βασιλεύουσα Ῥώμη τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν λόγων, an alleged inscription on a statue base dedicated to the sophist Prohaeresius.

175 Pittakes (1854), 1168, no. 2257; Dittenberger (1878), no. 776; Curtius (1891), 277; Robert (1948), 95–102; Millar (1969), 17, note 64, and *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Plutarchus 2.

176 Kaibel (1878), 376, in his commentary on no. 910: *"Plutarchum recte Wilamowitz intellegit Nestorii filium Atheniensem, Proculi Lycii praeceptorem"*; Groag (1946), 60, no. IV; Creaghan and Raubitschek (1947), 27, no. VI; Frantz (1965), 192, note 28 and *ead.* (1969), 528 (confused); Blumenthal (1978), 373; Nagy (1980), 109; Fowden (1982), 51 and *id.* (1990), 499.

177 Blumenthal (1978), 373.

178 Fowden (1982), 51, note 147, is of the opposite conviction.

179 *Id.* (1990), 499, note 30.

name σοφιστής was applied generally to oriental sages such as the Gymnosophists, as Fowden claims, seems to be out of place in trying to identify an Athenian person of culture recorded in a witty Athenian epigram.

As Frantz has prudently observed, the question is: can the two epigraphically attested (that is, **29.** and **31.**, but not **30.**) persons named Plutarchus be equated with the founder of the Neoplatonic School?[180] Frantz wants to see overtones of Platonic philosophy in μύθων ταμίης in **31.**, which is unfounded, as I shall try to prove *ad locum*. She says βασιλεὺς λόγων in the present inscription presumably refers to a sophist but is not incompatible with "philosopher".[181] Frantz clearly speaks for the case of Plutarchus the Neoplatonist, but in the final analysis she leaves the question open and insoluble, lacking of further evidence.[182] My opinion is that Plutarchus the sophist should be distinguished from the Neoplatonist philosopher until it can be shown that only philosophers could be wealthy enough to defray the costs of transporting the Panathenaic ship up to the temple of Athena or other similar undertakings.

The date of this text is established through another inscription (**31.**), dated between A.D. 408–410,[183] where the identical Plutarchus honours the Praetorian Prefect Herculius. But the present inscription could even predate Alaric's incursion and, on the other hand, be posterior to Herculius' tenure by a decade or even more.

30. Mitsos (1971), 65 no. 7[184] (EM 4878 + 4713 + 8572) = *SEG* 31, no. 246: Honours to the Neoplatonist philosopher Plutarchus (the early fifth century)

b

[---------- ἀριδεί]κετον ἔρνος
[---------- Κε]κροπίης
[----------]ς Ἀθηνέων
[----------]τι πειθόμενος
[----------]ος εὐρυόπα Ζεύς
[----------]ι ὑμνοπόλῳ.

a *vacat*

[--]ΥΣΑΠ[----------]σμα Πλάτωνο[ς]
[πλο]ῦτος[----------]μενος
[Π]λουτα[ρχ---------- Τελε]σφόρε, λεύσσας
[ἦ ἱ]ερεῖ γέρ[ας----------]νος τεμένει.

vacat

"[---] famous off-spring [---] of Cecropian [---] of Athens [---] complying with [---] the far-seeing Zeus [---] minstrel."

180 Frantz (1988), 63.
181 *Id.*, 64.
182 *Ibid.* She expects the donor to have been considerably wealthy, a man of distinction and influence, saying that Plutarchus the Neoplatonist at age sixty would fit all these specifications. That no sophist of the same name is known does not prove anything.
183 See *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Herculius 2.
184 See also Peek (1974), 202–204.

"[---] of Plato [---] the wealth [---] Plutarchus [---] having seen, o Telesphorus [---] indeed, a gift of honour [---] to the precincts of a temple."

Cut on two fragments possibly belonging to an altar or a statue base (preserved measurements: *a:* H. 0.46, W. 0.10, T. 0.155, LH. 0.007–0.019; *b:* H. 0.545, W. 0.235, T. 0.14, LH. 0.006–0.015, excepting *phi*), the latter of which is known to come from the Lyceum excavation in the National Garden.

Our text has several difficulties of interpretation, mostly due to its fragmentary state of preservation. Werner Peek was the first scholar venturesome enough to suggest that this inscription referred to the Neoplatonist philosopher Plutarchus. I agree with him, but not with his arbitrary restorations.

Lines 2–4 possibly included the authorisation of the honorary statue by the city of Athens.[185] Another alternative could be a reference to the honorand's place of birth in Attica (line 2) and some other kind of authorisation. The second elegiac poem (lines 7–10) begins with a reference to Plato, and possibly to the School (κτίσμα?) founded by him. Because the restoration is uncertain,[186] I have not adopted this variant reading into my text. The restored πλοῦτος in line 8 may be compared to the puns in **29.**, lines 2 and 4 (Πλούταρχον... πλοῦτον ὅλον προχέας), **31.**, lines 1 and 2 (τὸν θεσμῶν ταμίην... Πλούταρχος μύθων ταμίης), and **32.**, lines 1 and 4 (τὸν θεσμῶν πρόμαχον... προμάχῳ Παλλάδι Κεκροπίης). All of this evidence cannot be dismissed as a mere coincidence of sophistic virtuosity because these texts could well have been carved within a time span of a few years.

There is more to be read in line 9 than previous editors have seen: Mitsos read ΛΟΙΤΑ, and Peek read [Π]λούτ[αρχ'. Frantz rejects the identification of the honorand with the Neoplatonist scholarch Plutarchus on the basis of nothing more than a drawing in Peek's edition.[187] I would instead attach great importance to a reference to the name of a deity connected with Asclepius (Τελεσφόρε, partly restored) at the end of this same line.[188] The epigrams evidently ended in line 10, which includes two religious words (ἱερεύς, τέμενος[189]) and probably γέρας, which could refer to a reward or privileges conferred upon the honorand.[190]

This interpretation regarding the priestly connections in this fragmentary inscription leads directly to an interpretation of the whole as an honorary inscription to Plutarchus, the scholarch of the Neoplatonic School in the later fourth and early fifth century.[191] For generations his family was linked to the priesthood of Asclepius. This is borne out by an inscription of another Plutarchus, probably the grandfather of our Plutarchus, found in Epidaurus.[192] The Attic high-priest was active in Epidaurus as a priest of both Dionysus

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185 See the inscription for Theodorus (**15.**), lines 2, 6 and 8: νεύματι Κεκροπίης... τὼς γὰρ ἄνωγε πόλις... νεύματι Θευδοσίου.

186 Tod (1957), 135, note 44, claims that κτίσμα is not the only one of the 700 words ending in -σμα, which would suit the context.

187 Frantz (1988), 64, note 48.

188 See below on the priestly contacts of Plutarchus' family.

189 The latter, of course, does not imply a priestly connection because, for example, in *IG* VII, no. 95, an honorary statue was collocated by the Megarians ἀμφὶ Δίκης τεμένει, as was shown by Robert (1948), 94.

190 Compare Roueché (1989), nos. 31 and 53.

191 See *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Plutarchus 5 (=*PLRE* II, *s.v.* Plutarchus 1).

192 *IG* IV 1, no. 436 (and its couplet 437) from A.D. 308.

and Asclepius.[193] It has been established for a long time that our Plutarchus cannot be identified with two other persons of the same name.[194]

It is a seemingly impossible task to try to reconstruct the specific circumstances behind the carving of such a poorly preserved honorary inscription. I regard the proposed date in the early fifth century as very probable also on the strength of its lettering (see Appendix on scripts).

31. *IG* II/III^2, no. 4224: Honours to the Praetorian Prefect Herculius (A.D. 408–410)

τὸν θεσμῶν ταμίην Ἑρκούλιον, ἁγνὸν ὕπαρχον
v Πλούταρχος μύθων ταμίης ἔστησε σοφιστής.

"Plutarchus, the treasurer (and dispenser) of speech(es) and sophist, set up (the statue of) Herculius, the treasurer of laws, the upright prefect."

Cut on a block (H. 0.57, W. 1.53, LH. 0.035–0.045) on the left side of the entrance to the Library of Hadrian, above the original statue since lost. *In situ.* (See map in Fig. 2 b)

The highly sophisticated epigram characterises the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum, Herculius[195] with a pun-like coinage θεσμῶν ταμίης. The word θεσμός is often used in connection with other words for extolling high-ranking Roman officials.[196]

We know Herculius from two other inscriptions: **32.**, a dedication by the sophist Apronianus, and another from Megara, dedicated to Herculius for his building activities.[197] The extent of his building activities, treated as extensive by Frantz,[198] are the subject of much controversy. We should be careful in drawing conclusions even in cases like this, where an inscription above a statue of very considerable proportions is *in situ* at a conspicuous place in Athens.

As for the identity of Plutarchus in this inscription, I identify him with the sophist in **29.** This is because he signs himself here explicitly as a sophist. The words μύθων ταμίης are a nice sophistic pun, which serves as the counterpart to θεσμῶν ταμίην, but

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193 The contacts have been pointed out by Oliver (1950), 84, and elaborated by Castrén (1989), 47 with Table I on p. 49.

194 *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Plutarchus 3, the proconsul of Achaea and *PLRE* I, *s.v.* Plutarchus 4, possibly a *praeses insularum* under Julian and son to the former; both are clearly out of the question here.

195 *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Herculius 2; his office was during A.D. 408–410.

196 See Robert (1948), 90, ἐπιμάρτυρα θεσμῶν, *AP* 9.812 θεῖον Ἰουστῖνον καθαρὸν φρουρήτορα θεσμῶν and the following inscription in this study (also dedicated to Herculius), line 1 πρόμαχον θεσμῶν.

197 *IG* VII, no. 93: construction of city walls and an aqueduct.

198 Frantz (1966), 380, and *ead.* (1988), 63, attributes to Herculius the restoration of the Library of Hadrian; she also sees in him the rebuilder of the Parthenon, compare *ead.* (1979), 400–401, and also the builder of the "Palace of the Giants", compare *ead.* (1988), 65, with note 52. Graindor (1934), 241, was so careful that he even doubted whether Herculius had any connection with the Library of Hadrian. The first scholar to speak for an intimate relation between Herculius and the Library of Hadrian was a colleague of Frantz, John Travlos (see Travlos (1950), 44). There is no concrete evidence for a connection; the tetraconch building inside the Library has been suggested to be the work of the Empress Eudocia or someone else towards the second quarter of the fifth century, compare Fowden (1990), 499 (see also note 224 below). Even the account of the fate of the Library of Hadrian in Frantz' book is contradictory: contrast Frantz (1988), 5 and 63 with Travlos (1988b), 136, claiming it was in very good condition during the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall.

this does not help very much in defining the identity of the man. I strongly believe he is a sophist, and I reject Frantz' ideas of Platonism (Frantz (1988), 64): μῦθος is often attested in the meaning 'speech' or 'eloquence' both in Gregory of Nazianzus[199] and in the *Greek Anthology*.[200]

32. *IG* II/III^2, no. 4225: Honours to the Praetorian Prefect Herculius (A.D. 408–410)

τὸν πρόμαχον θεσμῶν Ἐ[ρκ]ο̣ύλιο̣[ν ἶσο]ν ἅπασιν
ἐζόμενον θώκων ὑψόθεν αἰπυτάτων
δεινὸς Ἀθηνάων Ἀπρωνιανός σε σοφ[ι]στής
στῆσε παρὰ προμάχῳ Παλλάδι Κεκροπίη[ς].

"Apronianus, the skillful sophist at Athens, put up (a statue of) you, Herculius, the defender of laws and equitable to all, you, who sit above the highest seats (of office), beside (the statue of) Pallas, the defender of Athens."

Cut on a reused rectangular statue base (H. 1.055, W. 0.60, T. 0.72, LH. 0.012–0.025), originally set up beside the statue of Athena Promachus on the Acropolis (see map in Fig. 2 b) but reported to have been found in or near the Stoa of Attalus.

In this epigram the pun on ταμίης (see **31.**) is based on πρόμαχος in lines 1 and 4, but here the flattery is even more efficient, as the Praetorian Prefect Herculius is connected to Athena Promachus. In line 2 αἰπύτατοι θῶκοι refer to thrones, not places of residence, as has been pointed out by Robert.[201] In line 3 Apronianus is called a sophist residing at Athens.[202] Nothing else is known about him.[203] The epigram ends in a (very rare) reference to the place where the dedicated statue was erected.[204] We know from literary sources that in A.D. 372 the statue of Athena Promachus was seen by Jerome.[205] Later it was removed to Constantinople.[206] To illustrate the placing of honorary statues, there are several examples of inscriptions referring to statues placed in

199 Quoted in Robert (1948), 17, and commented *id.*, 24, note 6.

200 Compare *AP* 2.84 and 16.36, lines 1–2. On the other hand, of those who think the Plutarchus in **29.** is the Neoplatonist philosopher, at least Kaibel (1878), commentary on no. 911, Groag (1946), 73, Creaghan and Raubitschek (1947), 27, no. VI, Frantz in her earlier work (Frantz (1965), 192 with note 30), Blumenthal (1978), 737 with note 28, and Fowden (1990), 499 with note 30, think that also this dedicant Plutarchus is the same person.

201 Robert (1948), 150, note 1. For evidence for the use of this word in Late Roman honorary epigrams see *id.*, 17, 35, 47, and 149–150.

202 Inexplicably Frantz (1965), 192, with note 31, calls him a philosopher.

203 *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Apronianus 1, with inexplicable errors of "Stoa of Hadrian" (as the place of provenience) and totally outdated reading [κλ]ειν̣ός to boot. Groag supposes Apronianus was the predecessor of Leontius in the sophistic chair at Athens, compare Groag (1946), 73, with note 6.

204 For a parallel, see line 5 in **15.** above.

205 Jerome *in Zachariam* III.12.3. (ed. Adriaen (1970), 862, lines 58–59).

206 Frantz (1988), 77, note 143, suggests a date at about A.D. 465–470.

or near the court houses[207] and Ζεὺς ἰθύδικος[208] and the legendary Λυκοῦργος in Sparta.[209]

Do we have to suppose that Plutarchus and Apronianus had a special reason to be grateful towards Herculius? This question is answered positively by *inter alios* Wachsmuth and Thompson.[210] Fowden is satisfied with the assertion that Herculius admired and was admired by these learned men of Athens.[211] We may admit that Herculius must have been a man of letters, and it could also be possible that he really had paid particular attention to the needs of higher education. These dedications accompanied by statues in such conspicuous places at Athens seem to favour this hypothesis, but only the date (A.D. 408–410) is sure.

33. Sironen (1990), 372 (Agora inv. no. I 3558); taken up by *SEG* 40, no. 184: Honours to the Empress Eudocia (soon after A.D. 421?)

a *b*

ε[ἵνε]κα Φ̣[--*ca.* 7--] βασιληίδος Εὐδ[οκίης τε?]
Θευδόσι[ος βασιλε]ὺ̣ς στῆσ̣εν ἄγαλ[μα τόδε]
π̣ι̣σ̣τοτα[τ---*ca.* 9---]ΕΘΟ̣[?]Ν̣ θεραποντ[-----]
Θευδοσιο̣[---*ca.* 9---]Ο̣ΛΑ[--]ΕΧΟΝΤΙ̣[-----].

"Because of the [---] and (?) of the Empress Eudocia Theodosius the Emperor put up this statue. The most loyal [---] servant [---] Theodosius [---] having (?) [---]."

Cut inside a *tabula ansata* on two fragments of a column (preserved H. 0.475 *(a)* and 0.285 *(b);* estimated diameter 0.62, LH. 0.011–0.021), reused as a statue base, found in the area of Stoa of Attalus and north of the "Palace of the Giants". (See map in Fig. 2 b)

Leaving aside the critical apparatus, I see here a fragmentary epigram in two distichs describing the erecting of a statue by a person designated in the singular, most probably Theodosius, as can be seen from the almost self-evident restoration of line 2. In the first line an empress – Eud(ocia?) – is named in the genitive, probably a reference to the person depicted in the statue. Lines 3 and 4 of the epigram are more difficult to interpret, but there is a chance that the words "the most loyal" and "servant", the numbers of which are unknown, could refer to the subordinates of the Theodosius in the last line, obviously then of the same emperor, possibly to those who were responsible for setting up the statue.

The text itself still has its uncertainties. In line 1 the word beginning with an uncertain *phi* cannot be an adjective or a participle in the genitive of the feminine singular qualifying the Empress Eudocia, if we restore τε in the end of the line.[212] In line 3 the words

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207 Robert (1948), 15 and 90 (Crete), and 94 (Megara); compare, for example, *AP* 9.812 and 813 for literary evidence.

208 Ζηνὶ παρ' ἰθυδίκῳ in Olympia: Feissel in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985), 373, no. 153*.

209 κατὰ πτόλιν ἄγχι Λυκούργου *id.*, no. 36, line 5.

210 Wachsmuth (1874), 717; Thompson (1959), 68, with note 45.

211 Fowden (1990), 499.

212 I thank Dr Charlotte Roueché for suggesting this new restoration to me.

πιστότατος and θεράπων might belong together as in *AP* 15.15, line 4: καὶ πιστὸν θεράποντα σκηπτούχοιο Λέοντος. Separately these fragmentary words could mean several other things. The superlative πιστότατος is probably not applicable to Christian phraseology;[213] the word θεράπων is possibly Christian,[214] but it is improbable that this word is Christian in this context.

Because of its small diameter of around 0.62 m. it is probable that the monument is a columnar statue base for one figure. It was obviously a statue base of the Empress Eudocia because it would be implausible for the Emperor Theodosius II to be identified through his wife.[215] This interpretation admittedly takes for granted that the Theodosius in line 2 is the Emperor Theodosius II. It could be someone else with the same name, but the restored [βασιλε]ύς and the likelihood that it is his wife who is mentioned in the opening line make a strong case for Theodosius II. It is possible, but by no means certain, that the Theodosius in the last line is the same person.[216]

The Agora inscription is remarkable in two respects. First, this kind of imperial statue base in verse has so far not been attested in Late Roman Central Achaea.[217] Second, there has been no concrete proof until now of Eudocia's contacts with Athens.

Although Eudocia is traditionally considered to be benefactress of Athens, even her Athenian origin has been doubted.[218] We can only speculate about the reasons behind the erection of this statue.[219] Could it have commemorated Eudocia's marriage to Theodosius II on June 7, A.D. 421 in Constantinople? Did Eudocia possibly give money? Or could Eudocia have built something in Athens? A good candidate would be the "Palace of the Giants":[220] the smaller fragments of the inscription were found squarely in front of the façade of the "Palace of the Giants". The statue of Eudocia may have stood on a base, found west of the Panathenaic Way, which Frantz has described and dated in the fourth century. Despite this dating, the lack of hard evidence does allow a fifth century dating.[221] Frantz thinks that the statue stood through most of the fifth century but might have been one of the casualties of a Vandal invasion in A.D. 467. Most

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213 Rösch (1978), 63, claims that from the fifth century on it was usual for an emperor to be named πιστότατος, but our poetic text can hardly belong even to the class *"Fremdbezeichnungen halb-offiziellen Charakters"* (p. 21). The emperor is probably not referred to by πιστότατος: Kaibel (1878), no. 441, line 4, provides us with an example of the Prefect Maiorinus: πιστοτάτου [βασι]λεῦσιν ἀμωμήτοιο τ' ἐ[πά]ρ[χ]ου.

214 See *AP* 1.4; 1.8; 1.10, lines 33 and 37; 1.11; 1.101; 9.705 and many more. I wish to thank Dr Vappu Pyykkö and Professor Gunnar af Hällström, members of our team, for their help in elucidating the Christian usage of the words πιστότατος and θεράπων.

215 There is, however, a rare example of this in *AP* 1.2, line 1, in which the Emperor Justin II is characterised as the spouse of Sophia: θεῖος Ἰουστῖνος, Σοφίης πόσις.

216 The double occurrence of the name of an emperor seems to be rare, but there is one example in *AP* (16.69) of the Emperor Zeno and his wife Ariadne. This two-line epigram, however, tends to favour parallel constructions in its choice of words.

217 None of the 55 imperial dedications in the parallel material of Late Roman Central Achaea is later than this (I exclude an unedited *fragmentum incertum* from Corinth) and none of them is metrical. All of this suggests a very special occasion for inscribing the present epigram.

218 See the article "The Athenian Empress Eudocia" by Mrs Julia Burman in this publication.

219 Evagrius' *Historia ecclesiastica* I.20 mentions Eudocia in Antioch and an honorary statue for her, but there are no clues relating to a statue in Athens.

220 Thompson (1988), especially 110–114. For further details of this hypothesis, see Sironen (1990), 374, note 11. – In contrast to all this, Castrén (1991), 476, suggests that the "Palace of the Giants" is rather a Roman "suburban villa". See also Castrén's further thoughts on p. 10–12 in this volume.

221 Frantz (1988), 60, pl. 46 d. The date is based on the fact that the foundations were sunk in a fill of the third and fourth centuries.

interestingly she argues that the size of the base and the prominence of its position make it probable that it was an emperor who stood on top, perhaps on another column.[222]

All in all, it seems likely that the inscription dates from the time soon after the imperial marriage in A.D. 421; as this is an epigram, the apparent absence of the title Αὔγουστα or Σεβαστή does not exclude the period after Eudocia was granted this title.[223] From the 430's on she was more or less involved in religious disputes and monasticism in Jerusalem, so that it would seem almost impossible to date this honorary inscription in the later period.[224]

V. Conclusion

Although it has been undertaken to assess only part of the classes of inscriptions, this study has shown that public dedications, honorary inscriptions and building inscriptions as well as milestones are represented by only a handful of Attic texts. Moreover, some of the sub-classes cease to be recorded on stone during the fourth century: dedications of public buildings as well as honours to local magistrates[225] or priests (see **10.**, **1.**, **11.** and **17.** and **18.**). The evidence for these types is as thin in the rest of Central Achaea as it is in Thessalonica.[226] On the other hand, Aphrodisias has many dedications of public buildings until the later fourth century[227] and several honorary epigrams for civic officials until the fifth and sixth centuries.[228]

The remainder of Attic sub-classes survive in the form of inscriptions until the early fifth century. The first of these comprises honours to emperors (see **6.**–**8.** and **33.**), a class that ceases to exist in the later fourth century in the rest of Central Achaea.[229] Thessalonica has no examples, but Aphrodisias has eight documents from the Tetrarchy until Justinian, all typically in prose.[230]

The second class of Attic inscriptions extending into the early fifth century comprises honours to proconsuls and praetorian prefects (see **2.**, **3.**, **13.**–**15.**, **19.**, **31.** and **32.**). Five (**13.**–**15.**, **31.** and **32.**) of the eight inscriptions (of which five are metric) were cut within a relatively short period of around forty years: between A.D. 372–410. The rest of Central Achaea has proportionally the same amount of evidence, 21 inscriptions, documented from the early fourth into the early fifth century with a variety of Roman nobility as honorands. The single city of Aphrodisias is furnished with the same amount of texts (21 altogether) from the late third until the sixth century, albeit with

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222 For an epigram depicting an emperor on top of a column, see, for example, the epigram from the baths of Miletus cited in Robert (1948), 81, note 3: κίων ὑψιτενὴς ὀχέων βασιληΐδα μορφήν; for a contemporary statue of the Emperor Arcadius dedicated by Theodosius II in Constantinople, see *Chronicon Paschale, sub anno* 421 (ed. Dindorf (1832), 579, lines 15–16) and Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon, sub anno* 421.2. Naturally there must have been innumerable other imperial statues on columns in the East.

223 See *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Aelia Eudocia (Athenais) 2.

224 See the contributions of Mrs Julia Burman and Ms Arja Karivieri elsewhere in this book for other possible Athenian activities of the Empress Eudocia.

225 Note that an Attic sub-class that persisted into the early fifth century are honours to philosophers and sophists (see **16.**, **29.**, and **30.**).

226 Feissel (1983), nos. 81–206, includes none.

227 Roueché (1989), nos. 11–13 and 28–30.

228 *Id.*, nos. 53, 55–56, 73, 82, 85–87 and 89.

229 This serves to show how exceptional **33.** is in its poetical form and late for being cut in Greece.

230 Roueché (1989), nos. 9, 20–21, 23, 25–27 and 81.

a smaller number of metric texts.[231] Once again, Thessalonica is poorly represented with only one epigram from the *Greek Anthology*.[232]

The eight building inscriptions in Attica (see **4.**, **5.**, **12.**, **20.**, **21.** and **26.–28.**) constitute the third class of texts that survived until the early fifth century. They have an even chronological distribution from the 270's until the early fifth century. The rest of Central Achaea has proportionally less texts (altogether 11), most of them in prose, but with some later dates. Thessalonica has four rather late texts, from the fourth century until A.D. 512, the earliest one in Latin and two of them epigrams.[233] The most numerous texts come from Aphrodisias (altogether 15), mainly in prose, from the middle of the fourth until the fifth or the sixth century.[234]

Attic milestones (five stones, see **9.** and **22.–25.**) are relatively numerous due to several copies of the latest milestone from A.D. 397. The Attic milestones are not as evenly distributed chronologically as the parallel material (seven texts) in the rest of Central Achaea, ranging from the reign of Florianus until the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, with Diocletian and Constantine having the most numerous (three each).

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It remains to recapitulate the results of this study affecting the Late Roman history of Athens and Attica.

The end of the third century after the Herulian raid in A.D. 267 is reflected in nine inscriptions (**1.–9.**), mostly in connection with the restoration of the city: the Post-Herulian Wall is being put up by Claudius Illyrius and possibly by someone else, too[235] (**4.** and **5.**); the influential personalities Dexippus – an historian and civic leader – and Claudius Illyrius, a member of the Areopagus and proconsul, are being honoured with statue bases (**1.–3.**). In addition to these, there are honorary inscriptions to the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (**6.–8.**); only one of them (**6.**) preserves the name of the dedicant: *corrector* Lucius Turranius Gratianus. A milestone mentioning the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (**9.**) rounds off this particular period, about which very little information is available.

The fourth century prior to Alaric's incursion in A.D. 396 is characterised by 12 inscriptions (**10.–21.**) probably datable into this period,[236] giving an impression of security and continual philanthropy under such benefactors as the generous archon and *panegyriarchos* Hegias (**11.**), the hierophant Cleadas (**17.**) and the obviously wealthy Flavius Septimius Marcellinus (**12.**). There is a continuation of pagan priests such as hierophant (**17.**), *daduch* (**13.**) and *panegyriarchos* (**11.**), all connected with the Eleusinian festival. There are also some less informative texts, including an epistyle probably with the name of Constantine the Great (**10.**) and two rather routine[237]

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231 *Id.*, nos. 7, 8 (an epigram in Latin!), 14–18, 22, 24, 31–32, 36–37, 41, 56–58 and 62–65.

232 *AP* 9.686 = Feissel (1983), no. 87.

233 *Id.*, nos. 86 and 88–90.

234 Roueché (1989), nos. 19, 39–40, 42–44, 46–52, 67 and 72.

235 This depends on the problematic nature of the identity of the person who built the west flank of the Post-Herulian Wall, see notes 32 and 33 above.

236 The only insecurely datable inscriptions from this period (**18.–21.**) have been left at the end of Chapter III. For obvious reasons I am unwilling to use them in this syllabus. – Two milestones reused several times between the third and the later fourth century (**22.**, and **23.**) have been placed at the beginning of Chapter IV.

237 These texts have almost always suffered from neglect; in my opinion, however, they are valuable proof that fourth-century Athens must have continued to be a normally functioning society. It may

epigrams for the Praetorian Prefect Probus (**14.**) and for the Proconsul Theodorus (**15.**). I would like to emphasise the importance of the honorary inscription to the wealthy archon and *panegyriarchos,* generous benefactor Hegias (**11.**) with its re-established date and the equally neglected and evidently misdated inscription of Cleadas and Erotius (**17.**), implying the continuation of the Eleusinian mysteries.[238] The third priestly office-holder, the *daduch* Flavius Pom(peius?), is commemorated in an honorary prose inscription to the Proconsul Rufius Festus (**13.**).[239] With regard to the building activities of the fourth century, it must be emphasised that the Gateway on the Acropolis was built by an evidently rich man, Flavius Septimius Marcellinus (**12.**). The fear of a Gothic invasion, however, became more serious at the end of the century, and Iamblichus – the only epigraphically attested sophist or philosopher from the fourth century proper – built a wall in Athens from his own resources, as we are informed in a fragmentary honorary inscription (**16.**). The Patrae-Athens road was also probably being worked upon.[240]

The last period from A.D. 396 on is quite well documented by altogether 12 inscriptions (**22.–33.**) until the second quarter of the fifth century. On the one hand restoration and building activity is documented in seven inscriptions (**22.**F., **23.**C. and **24.–28.**), on the other hand sophists and philosophers are present in four honorary texts (**29.–32.**)[241] and, last but not least, an emperor (or rather an empress), is being honoured (**33.**) – after a hiatus of more than a hundred years. Regarding the first of these groups, it is remarkable that so much was under construction in the years immediately after the Visigothic raid: the Patrae-Athens road in A.D. 397 (**22.**F., **23.**C., **24.** and **25.**), possibly the Diogeneion (**26.**), the bema of the Theatre of Dionysus (**27.**) and the sundial of Phaedrus (**28.**). As to the sophists, we are very well served by the important inscriptions mentioning Plutarchus (**31.**) and Apronianus (**32.**) during the office of the Praetorian Prefect Herculius between A.D. 408 and 410. Did they praise the Prefect Herculius for their (possible) positions as official sophists at Athens? At least the sophist Plutarchus seems to have been openhanded in supporting the Panathenaic procession (**29.**), which could mean he was wealthy. The fragmentary inscription for the Neoplatonist philosopher Plutarchus (**30.**), which mentions various pagan gods and includes priestly words, may be seen as a proof of the perseverance of the pagan cult. This is also corroborated by the mention of Dionysus and the statue of Pallas Athena in the bema inscription (**27.**) and in the statue base inscription by the sophist Apronianus (**32.**) in honour of the Prefect Herculius, both of them relevant for the fifth-century topography of Athens. Nevertheless, I would like to claim that the most important new discovery for the Late Roman history of Athens is the epigram of the Emperor Theodosius II for his wife Eudocia (**33.**), although it is not entirely clear, due to its fragmentary state of preservation.

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even have been rather well-off, as is suggested by the continuing testimony of public honorary inscriptions.

238 See **11.** and **17.**

239 There the proconsul is an honorary member of the Areopagus and a benefactor of the city, and the erection of the statue is overseen by a person with priestly ties to Eleusis, exactly as around 90 years earlier in the case of Claudius Illyrius and Marcus Iunius Minucianus (see **2.** and **3.**).

240 The relevant texts have been placed in Chapter IV: **22.**C.D.G. and **23.**B.

241 See also Olympiodorus' fr. 31 (ed. Blockley (1983)), mentioning a statue erected in honour of Philtatius for his philological merits.

It will be clear from the preceding that no more public inscriptions were cut after the first half of the fifth century, unless they were characteristically Christian.[242] After this period the epigraphical culture continued in Attica mainly in the form of numerous Early Christian tombstones of the type κοιμητήριον τοῦ δεῖνα κτλ. Although very rarely datable, these texts are generally believed to have become common by the fifth century. Their number is very high, especially at Corinth, and generally in Central Achaea.[243]

Appendix on Scripts

The following owes a great deal to Roueché's Appendix III:[244] not only the exposition, but also her remarks on the problems inherent in the Late Roman period.

The Attic material analysed here consists only of the public texts in Greek studied above. The Latin texts (**6.**, **22.**F., **23**C., **24.** and **25.**, lines 2–7) are excluded. Lost inscriptions (**7.**, **9.**, **14.**, **17.**, **18.** and **22.**), studied on the basis of earlier editions, have always been referred to with the precaution "also possibly" at the end of examples.[245]

The reduction in the quantity of inscriptions from the later third century on is without a doubt more dramatic at Athens than, for example, at Aphrodisias. The number of examples at Aphrodisias is 89 public texts in Greek, whereas there are only 37 different texts[246] in the whole of Attica. The period of study at Aphrodisias covers more than 350 years after A.D. 250, but in Attica only a little more than 150 years after A.D. 267. This will certainly affect the present analysis of the scripts.

In order to avoid the danger of circular arguments, I shall at first discuss letter forms in texts for which there is some evidence of date apart from the script (**1.**–**5.**, **7.**–**18.**, **22.**C.D.G., **23.**B., **25.**, **26.**, **29.** and **31.**–**33.**); the other texts (**19.**–**21.**, **22.**A.B.E., **23.**A., **27.**, **28.**, and **30.**) will be assessed more thoroughly in the synopsis at the end of this Appendix. On the basis of the data extracted from the securely dated texts and the overall look of a given inscription with a more or less uncertain date (especially texts **27.**, **28.** and **30.**), an estimated date may be provided.

A: With disregard to use of serifs and elongated forms three major variants may be distinguished: straight bar (**2.**, **4.**, **5.**, **13.**, **15.**, also possibly **14.** and **18.**); the dropped bar (**12.**, **26.**, also possibly **7.** and **9.**); the cursive variant (**3.**, **8.**, **11.**, **29.**, **31.**–**33.**, also possibly **17.**). Almost all of these forms continue to be used throughout the period under study: the cursive form with its slanted bar[247] seems to prevail towards the later period. It must be noted that several texts are inconsistent as regards the three forms (**1.**, **16.**, **23.**B., also possibly **22.**C.D.G.).

B: There are some special features that do not, however, appear to be related to date: forms with the bowls touching the main stem (**1.**, **16.**, **29.**, also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **14.**,

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242 See, however, note 127 for the seven Early Christian dedications and building inscriptions omitted from this paper.

243 I have counted 373 texts in Corinth; other parts of Central Achaea (including Attica) with 306 texts.

244 See Roueché (1989), 331–334.

245 In Dittenberger's *IG* III the use of serifs and especially the letters *alpha* and *omega* are not always reliably presented; in other respects its letter fonts are remarkably representative.

246 Add to these the three texts mentioned above in note 45.

247 This form has been attested as early as between 27/6–18/7 B.C. in *IG* II/III^2, no. 2338, and at the end of the first century A.D. in *IG* II/III^2, no. 1998.

18. and **22.**D.G.); forms with an outline of the two bowls not touching the stem (inconsistently in **13.**, **16.** and **23.**B.); the upper bowl sometimes appears to be larger (inconsistently in **23.**B.) or smaller than the lower bowl (inconsistently in **1.**).

Γ: Apart from the use of serifs *gamma* offers no remarkable features.

Δ: The chief variants from the standard form are represented in the variable use of serifs and elongated forms, all of which are used throughout the period.

E: The two major variants are between a squared (**1.**, **2.**, **4.**, **5.**, **12.**, **26.**, also possibly **7.**, **14.**, **18.** and **22.**D.) or a lunate form[248] (**3.**, **11.**, **13.**, **16.**, **23.**B., **29.**, **31.–33.**, also possibly **17.**) This would seem to indicate that the lunate form prevailed in the later period. There is a very small amount of inconsistency between the squared and lunate forms (**15.** starts with a lunate form, but goes over to the squared variant on line 2, probably in harmony with its squared *sigmas*, also possibly in **22.**C.G.) Note that in two texts (**13.** and **16.**) the central horizontal stroke is detached from the curve.

Z does not offer any significant variants.

H has an older variant, common in the second and third centuries, with the cross-bar detached from the sides (**4.** and **5.**), but all the other examples show the cross-bar attached to the sides.

Θ most commonly appears in a simple form, with a straight and attached cross-bar (**3.**, **15.**, **16.**, **29.**, **31.–33.**, also possibly **17.**); sometimes the cross-bar is detached (**4.**, **5.**, **13.**, also possibly **14.**). Inconsistencies do occur (**1.**, **26.**, also possibly **22.**D.). A more remarkable variant in the later period is the smaller form in the upper part of the line (in the first epigram in **16.** and inconsistently in **32.**), both belonging to the two decades around A.D. 400.

I does not offer any significant variants.

K: Forms where the arms end below and above the extent of the upright are rare and often relatively late (**15.**, **29.**, **31.**, **33.**, also possibly **22.**D.) when compared with the more common form, where they extend to the full depth of the upright (**2.–5.**, **10.–13.**, **16.**, **23.**B., **26.**, **32.**, also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **14.**, **17.**, **18.** and **22.**C.). The arms are sometimes detached from the upright (**16.**, **29.**, **31.** and **33.**), whereas the arms more oftenly touch the upright (**4.**, **5.**, **10.**, **12.**, **23.**B., also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **14.**, **17.**, **18.** and **22.**C.D.). Inconsistency in this latter feature is more common (**1.–3.**, **11.**, **13.**, **15.**, **26.** and **32.**) than in the extension of the arms below or at the level of the upright (**1.**). Note that in two texts assigned to the 390's (**16.** and **26.**) the arms and the upright have been cut as three detached strokes.

Λ: Besides the use of serifs and elongated forms there are virtually no significant developments.

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248 The lunate forms of *epsilon*, *sigma* and *omega* are attested already between 27/6–18/7 B.C. in *IG* II/III^2, no. 2338; before A.D. 37 in *IG* II/III^2, no. 3264; and around A.D. 45/6 in *IG* II/III^2, no. 1972.

M: In addition to the standard form (**1.–5.**, **8.**, **11.–13.**, **15.**, **29.**, also possibly **9.**, **17.**, **18.** and **22.**C.D.G.) there is a form with the slanting elements extending fairly deep combined with a slight slanting of the uprights as if it would form the lower part of an *alpha* with a dropped bar (in the second epigram in **16.** and in **32.**, also possibly **7.**) Other developments include the rare variants where the slanting elements start some way down the uprights (an inconsistency in the first epigram in **16.** and in **26.**, the latter consisting of four detached strokes, compare the end of notes on *kappa*) and the fully cursive form with three curves (**31.**). The cursive form cannot, however, be regarded as a late feature, because it appears already in A.D. 301 in *IG* II/III^2, no. 1120 (Edict of Diocletian) and even earlier.

N: The chief variation is between the standard form where the oblique goes from the top of one upright to the bottom of the second (**1.–3.**, **5.**, **8.**, **10.**, **12.**, **13.**, **26.**, **31.–33.**, also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **14.**, **17.**, **18.** and **22.**C.D.G.) and those forms where the oblique starts some way down the uprights (an inconsistency in **11.**, **16.** and **29.**), sometimes only finishing some way up the right upright (an inconsistency in **11.**, **15.** and **23.**B.). The letter has occasionally been cut so that the oblique is detached from the left upright (an inconsistency in **15.**). This would seem to indicate that the deviations from the standard form appear in the fourth century.

Ξ: There are many forms, none of which appear to be related to date. The standard form with three horizontal strokes (**1.**, possibly also **7.**, **9.**, **18.** and **22.**C.) co-exists with a form where an upright runs through the horizontal strokes (**5.**, but inconsistently in **1.**, also possibly in **9.**). Two totally different forms exist: a stylised double *zeta* (**3.**) and a form where the central horizontal stroke of the standard form is replaced by a hook upside down (**11.** and **13.**) or by a double hook in the identical position (**16.**).

O is comparable with *theta* because the smaller form in the upper part of the line prevails in the same late texts (**16.** and **32.**) and in two other later texts also somewhat smaller than *theta* (**33.**, also possibly **17.**). On the other hand, it must be noted with caution that three texts (**26.**, **29.** and **31.**) with virtually identical dates do not share this feature.

Π: Apart from elongated forms and use of serifs this letter shows no significant developments.

P: The standard form has the bowl attached to the upright at the top (**1.–5.**, **8.**, **11.**, **15.**, **26.**, **29.**, **31.–33.**, also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **14.**, **17.**, **18.** and **22.**C.). Sometimes the bottom of the bowl is left open (**13.**) combined with the feature where the upright extends above the bowl (**16.** and **26.**). Occasionally the top of the bowl is left open when the upright extends above the bowl (an inconsistency in **16.**). The bowl may be detached from the upright (**12.**), also when the upright extends above the bowl (an inconsistency in **13.** and **26.**). The bowl attached to an upright which extends above it is attested only once, as an inconsistent variant (**15.**).

Σ: the standard form continued in use occasionally until the end of the fourth century (**1.**, **4.**, **5.**, **25.** (a mere title), also possibly **7.**, **14.**, **18.** and **22.**C.), but the square form (**1.** (one attestation), **2.**, **10.**, **12.**, **15.**, **26.**, also possibly inconsistently in **9.**)

and especially the lunate form (**3.**, **8.**, **11.**, **13.**, **16.**, **23.**B., **29.**, **31.–33.**, also possibly **17.**, **22.**G., and inconsistently in **22.**D.) came to prevail in the later period. Generally the traditional standard *sigma* (or the square *sigma*) goes together with a square *epsilon* and a traditional or a square *omega;* the only exception is **15.**, where *omega* is curved.

T shows no significant variations.

Y: Forms with straight arms (**2.–5.**, **11.**, **15.**, **25.**, **26.**, **29.**, **32.**, also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **14.**, **18.** and **22.**C.G.) or curved arms (**31.** and **33.**) vary. Both forms are occasionally attested (**1.**, **3.**, **13.**, **16.**, also possibly **17.**). No relevance as to the date can be proved.

Φ, X and *Ψ* show no significant variants.

Ω: The traditional form continued in use sporadically until the fourth century (**1.**, **5.**, **12.**, also possibly **7.**, **9.**, **18.**, and **22.**C.) as did the traditional forms of *epsilon* and *sigma*. The cursive form prevails in the later period. It can be classified in four different forms: a) the flat-bottomed (**10.** and **26.**), b) the two Us (**16.** and **32.**; **15.** cut as two detached Us), c) the more curved form with a straight central upright as high as the curved ones (**3.**, **13.**, **23.**B., **29.**, and **31.**), and d) the more curved form with a lower central upright (**11.**, also possibly **17.** and **22.**G.).

Abbreviations are comparatively rare because the latest text in prose (**28.**) is no later than the fourth century. The first of the abbreviations in this study (**1.**, line 6) is indicated by a straight oblique stroke behind the last letter above the line. This follows the usage of earlier times. In contrast to it, the rest of the abbreviations (**12.**, line 1, **13.**, line 9, and **26.**, line 2 , all fourth century in date) are designated by the late Roman mark resembling the Latin *S*.

An evaluation of the scripts with notes on the use of elongated forms and serifs follows. Inscriptions **1.**, **4.**, and **5.** may be regarded as traditional scripts from the preceding period with their square lettering and rather consistent use of serifs and rare elongated forms. Inscription **1.** shows many elongated forms and has pronounced serifs. It belongs to a transition period: its intruding square *sigma* (attested only once) among the numerous attestations in the more traditional form connects it with the less traditional square script of **2.**, a contemporary text with a less consistent use of (small) serifs. The whole picture is blurred by a cursive copy (**3.**) of the same text with elongated forms and virtually no serifs, which is based on round letter forms and cursive *alpha*. This style was to become more and more prevalent. The two contemporary epigrams **4.** and **5.** share more than their topic: no elongated forms, consistent use of pronounced serifs and a very traditional script with square *epsilon* and traditional *sigma* and *omega*. Two lost texts from the end of the third century (**7.** and **9.**) are both cut in a traditional square script, **7.** possibly without elongated forms and serifs, *alpha* with a dropped bar, **9.** possibly with very rarely elongated forms and no serifs. In contrast to this, **8.** evidently has elongated forms but only an occasional serif (on top of cursive *alphas*); the script is based on round, cursive letter forms, and it may be regarded as fairly untraditional in the context of a half-monumental imperial dedication.

Scripts of the fourth century use more consistently elongated forms and are based on a round lettering. One exception to this is **10.**, evidently with no elongated forms but with an almost consistent use of serifs, based on a square, semi-traditional script with square *sigma* and *alpha*. The misdated dedication **11.** shows elongated forms throughout but virtually no serifs; it is based on round, cursive lettering with additional features of cursive *alpha*, smaller *omicron* and *omega*. The work seems helpless: unsure hand, variable letter height, vacillating lining etc. All of this could indicate a rather late date or perhaps at least an ebb in the epigraphical culture. Inscription **12.** also has elongated forms but shows consistent use of small, sharp serifs in a comparatively traditional square lettering (*alpha* with a dropped bar, square *epsilon* and *sigma*, traditional *omega*). The work, with its slight slanting of lines, seems to reflect an ambitious attempt to reach back to a script of previous centuries. Inscription **13.** shows elongated forms with virtually no serifs, a round script without cursive *alpha* or other possibly late features. In contrast to this, another contemporary dedication (**14.**, lost) possibly had no elongated forms and serifs, but it shows an exceptionally traditional lettering with square *epsilon* and *sigma* with four bars. Inscription **15.** presents elongated forms with only occasional serifs and a curious mix of square and round letters (square and round *epsilon*, square *sigma*, round *omega*). Its overall appearance is helpless due to fluctuating lining and variable letter height. The letters *nu* and *omega* are often cut detached. The two epigrams by two different hands in **16.** feature elongated forms with fairly consistent use of serifs, round and cursive lettering with some detached forms (*alpha, beta, delta* and *epsilon*). The letters *theta* and *omicron* are small, further enhanced by packing the letters to each other, especially in the first epigram (see also **32.**), which is typical of late texts; the second epigram is more moderate in variation of letter height (see also **29.**, **31.** and **33.**) and other features characteristic of this script, which seems to be typical of the last decade of the fourth and first decades of the fifth century.

A short note on some vaguely dated inscriptions of possibly third and mostly fourth century before going into inscriptions postdating A.D. 396. Text **17.** (lost) has possibly elongated forms with an almost consistent use of serifs. It is a round, cursive script with cursive *alpha* and possibly small *omicron*, thus being comparable with **11.**, another fourth century text. Text **18.** (lost) has possibly no elongated forms and serifs, and it has a traditional square lettering. It is not certain whether it has been documented in a trustworthy way. More probably a fourth century text is the fragmentary **19.** with its elongated forms and moderate use of serifs. It is based on a round, nearly oval lettering of good workmanship, featuring a drop-like *theta*. It is, however, too featureless to be dated precisely. Texts **20.** and **21.** are too short and monumental to date. The first of them has pronounced, hook-like serifs and well-formed round letters, the latter of them is based on square letters (see **10.**, **23.**A, and **26.**), but it has elongated forms and serif only in *delta*. The lost milestone **22.** has several texts, the earliest ones of which (E., possibly also A. and B.) probably belong to the third century. They show an inconsistent use of elongated forms (excepting B.) and no serifs; the letters are a mixture of square and round ones, but for the most part they are traditional. The texts **22.**C.D. (early fourth century) also mainly follow this script: no elongated forms or serifs and basically traditional lettering with an occasional lunate form (a variant in **22.**D.). In the later fourth century (**22.**G.) lunate forms prevail with occasional elongated forms, but no serifs. The milestone **23.** is similar: the earlier text (A.) is in traditional square lettering with inconsistency in elongated forms and serifs, whereas the later text (B.) has mostly round letters (also a cursive *alpha* as a variant) and occasional elongated forms and serifs. It must be added that the work is very crude.

After the Visigothic raid the first securely dated inscriptions are the milestones of A.D. 397. Only one of them (**25.**, line 1) has Greek letters. Its traditional square lettering and absence of elongated forms and serifs is striking for such a late period, but the work is haphazard, and it thus may be regarded as a title only. Another almost as strikingly traditional script is used in **26.**, which is in prose. Elongated forms and small serifs are used almost consistently. The whole is based on square letters, as in **12.** (the only exception being the flat-bottomed *omega* in this later text). It also features occasional examples of detached letters as variants (*alpha, eta, kappa, lambda, mu, rho,* and *tau*). Another almost as monumental building inscription in a prominent place is the bema of Phaedrus (**27.**) in hexameters. Its lettering is reminiscent of the round lettering with small *omicrons* and *thetas* (compare **16.**, **30.** and **32.**). Elongated forms are consistent but serifs irregular. Here *theta* and *omicron* sometimes are drop-like, another generally late development. The clumsy overall appearance and execution strongly indicates a date around A.D. 400. The contemporary **28.** has elongated forms, further emphasised by the ovality and lankiness of *epsilon, omicron* and *sigma,* all of which are based on round forms. In contrast, serifs are used fairly consistently. Other special features are detached forms of *nu* and *omega* (see **15.** and **26.**) and the drop-like *omicron,* smaller than regular size (see **33.**, possibly also **17.**). On the other hand, neither one of the Phaedrus inscriptions show cursive *alpha*. In **29.** elongated forms are pretty consistent, serifs occasional. The lettering is round with the additional feature of cursive *alpha*. The overall appearance is that of an amateur stone-cutter having difficulties in alignment; two letters in line 1 are unfinished and single letters are leaning agaist each other. Consistently elongated forms and almost consistent use of serifs are featured in **30.**, another honorary epigram probably of the early fifth century. In addition, it has round lettering and cursive *alpha,* but further small variants of *theta* and *omicron*. The last three epigrams have a securely established date around A.D. 410 (**31.**-**32.**) and in the 420's (**33.**). All of them have elongated forms; serifs are regular in **32.** and **33.**, but inconsistent in **31.** All of them are based on round letter forms with cursive *alpha,* but there are some minor characteristic features. Inscription **31.** (good work) has a cursive *mu,* but no small variants of *theta* and *omicron*. Text **32.** has vacillating lines suggesting a lower standard of work than in **31.** and **33.** The epigram for Eudocia is consistently of very high quality and the serifs are sharp.

Julia Burman

The Athenian Empress Eudocia

Introduction[1]

It is quite understandable that the Eastern Empress Eudocia interests modern historians of the fifth century. The beautiful and mysterious legend which surrounds her is fascinating: what can be of more interest to the human mind than the story of an intelligent woman famous for promoting monasticism who is also suspected of committing adultery?

In ancient and modern historiography it has been the tradition to categorise the Emperor Theodosius II as a feeble but studious emperor, who acted under the domination of others: his sister, the Empress Pulcheria; his wife, the Empress Eudocia; his ministers such as Cyrus or his chamberlain Chrysaphius. The two empresses have been described as duelling for control of the emperor and for exerting their own political power.[2] It may be useful to explore this scene of two politically powerful empresses and a weak emperor. It would also be relevant to consider according to what set of values Theodosius II could be deemed feeble and a coward. The purpose of this paper, however, is to question the role of the Empress Eudocia.

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1 I wish to thank Professor Paavo Castrén and our team for continuous support, especially my husband Erkki Sironen for his advice in interpreting Latin and Greek, and Ms. Arja Karivieri in archaeology. I also wish to thank Professor Päivi Setälä and her seminar for women studies for constructive criticism. Any faults, however, are mine.

2 Güldenpenning (1885), 320–326; Seeck (1920), 82–83; Holum (1982), 91 ff., 97, 121; Alan Cameron (1982), 224; already in Priscus' fragments (5th c.) Theodosius is said to have lived the life of a coward, see Priscus' fr. 3 (ed. Blockley (1983)).

Sources

There are three main categories of direct sources concerning Eudocia:

- the writings of Eudocia;
- contemporary sources: inscriptions, the *Church History* of Socrates and a few references in epistolography;
- later sources: Byzantine chronicles, excerpts in Photius and *Suda,* and hagiography;

The indirect sources are archaeological material and the *Church History* of Sozomen, which, however, does not explicitly mention Eudocia.[3]

Perhaps the most reliable of the literary sources is the *Church History* of Socrates, but, unfortunately, he has been very brief concerning Eudocia. Thus most of the details can be found only in the later Byzantine chronicles. The intention of this paper is to scrutinise not only the legend of Eudocia but also the other available evidence in order to speculate on what the basis of these materials was formed; what and how much can be discovered about this mysterious lady?

I. The Woman of the Legend

The earliest version of the legend of Eudocia that we have is in the *Chronicle* of John Malalas (sixth century). It is more or less faithfully repeated by later chroniclers, because they used Malalas' chronicle as their source. The main differences are in the ways in which the story has been coloured: John Malalas tells us that Eudocia was learned in philosophy; the later chroniclers describe her as also being a specialist in mathematics and astronomy.[4]

The Legend of Eudocia in Malalas' *Chronicle*

The legend of Eudocia is notable in the *Chronicle* of John Malalas, because it is a rather long, complete story, a legend *par excellence,* in comparison with his stories about the other empresses, which could be classified as anecdotes or short episodes.[5] In its completeness the story about Eudocia is reminiscent of the legends comprising the earlier part of the *Chronicle,* which considers the more or less legendary past, that is Phaedra and Pasiphae.[6] It has been noticed by modern scholars that Malalas reconstructs the legendary past in terms of events from the recent past.[7] The legends of Phaedra and of

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3 See Hansen (1960), lxvii; Alan Cameron (1982).

4 Malalas 14 (transl. Jeffreys–Jeffreys–Scott (1986), 192–195). The Greek text, ed. Dindorf (1831), 352–358; for a late version, see Nicephorus Callistus 14.23 (*PG* 146, col. 1129).

5 Malalas 18 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 440–441)) Theodora; *id.* 15 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 385–389) Verina; *id.* 13 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 341) Marina.

6 *Id.* 4 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 88–90) Phaedra, and Pasiphae (ed. Dindorf (1831), 85–86).

7 Jeffreys (1990a), 61; Scott (1990a), 151–152.

Eudocia are so similar regarding the tragic elements of misunderstandings and rumours which ruin the lives of these chaste women that Malalas cannot have accidentally included them in his *Chronicle*. As Elizabeth Jeffreys has shown, the composition of the *Chronicle* proves that Malalas was deliberate in including material in his history which corresponded to his world view.[8]

It is possible that John Malalas used a legend which was already in existence as the material for his story of Eudocia. Whether this derived from folklore or actual sources is unclear.[9] The reasons why he chose to use such a story about Eudocia but no-one else involved in the history may be complicated, but I wish to suggest two simple ones. Firstly, as an Antiochian and possibly as a monophysite Malalas felt sympathy for the Empress Eudocia, as she was a benefactress of the city of Antioch and had been the patron of some famous monophysites in Palestine. Malalas may also have wished to deny the stories about Eudocia which were less sympathetic.[10] Secondly, it is a charming story. It was not uncommon for ancient historians to relate amusing stories in between their histories as a means of entertaining the audience.[11]

As has been pointed out by Alan Cameron and Kenneth Holum, the legend of Eudocia has a romantic aura, and includes typical folk tale elements. In brief, it is a Cinderella-story.[12] Folk tales are rich in variations, and the giving of a certain form is by no means arbitrary. Every part of the story has its internal function, but the parts also have an external relationship to historical events. In our case, however, it is difficult to determine which parts have a relationship to the historical events around Eudocia. Nevertheless, it constitutes an important piece of information. It is in fact trustworthy as regards the details of the legend of Eudocia, as these are confirmed by other sources. The reliability of the story has caused discussion, and as the disagreement between Alan Cameron and Kenneth Holum shows,[13] the problems inherent in its interpretation are by no means easy to solve. In older historiography the story was accepted without criticism,[14] whereas in modern scholarship it is mainly rejected by Holum and only partly accepted by Alan Cameron.

The main points of the story are a) the role played by the Empress Pulcheria in looking for a wife for her brother the Emperor Theodosius and the introduction of the orphaned daughter of the Athenian philosopher Leontius to him; b) the family dispute, in which Athenais/Eudocia, with the help of her aunts, petitioned against her brothers regarding her inheritance (thereby meeting the Empress Pulcheria) and after her marriage to the emperor her forgiveness of her troublesome brothers; c) Paulinus' role as the friend of Theodosius, who became a close friend also to Eudocia; and d) the tragedy of the apple affair, during which Eudocia gave the Phrygian apple she had received from Theodosius

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8 Jeffreys (1990a), 55, 61, 62; Jeffreys (1990b), 164–166; Jeffreys (1990c), 168, 215–216. See also Scott (1990b), 75–77, the theme of manipulating the past in Malalas, Scott (1990a), 147–148.

9 Jeffreys (1990c), 180, 211.

10 These stories have not survived, but John of Nikiu (87.13) says explicitly that historians lie about the reasons why Eudocia left the Court. See also Alan Cameron (1982), 259. Recently the monophysitism of Malalas has been disputed by Croke (1990), 16–17.

11 Herodotus was one of the first to do this: Scott (1990b), 79–80.

12 Alan Cameron (1982), 258–259, 270 ff.; Holum (1982), 114.

13 Though both above-mentioned studies on Eudocia are excellent, Alan Cameron and Kenneth G. Holum seem to hold opposite views on the main questions. The basic articles Seeck (1909a) in *RE* and Beck (1966) in *RLAC* do have differences in interpretation.

14 Gregorovius (1927), 744; Diehl (1959), 21–35; Seeck (1920), 82; Stein (1928), 425–426 and Bury (1923), 220, 230–231, follow closely the legend. Only the adultery has been suspected, mainly on moralistic reasons.

to Paulinus after which Paulinus gave it back to Theodosius, thus causing the killing of Paulinus by the jealous Theodosius, and Eudocia's leaving for the Holy Land. As these elements have recently been interpreted in opposite ways by Holum and Alan Cameron, they must be scrutinised here, too.

a) The Role of the Empress Pulcheria

The legend as told by Malalas gives great importance to the Empress Pulcheria as the one who introduces the girl to the emperor. This role of Pulcheria is generally accepted. Only Holum holds this to be a late addition,[15] because there is no contemporary source which confirms Pulcheria playing a part in the marriage.

In his book about the Theodosian Empresses, Holum promotes a theory of a Traditionalist party and a Christian party, which had reciprocal tensions, the main issue of the conflict being the relationship to the pagans and classical culture. The traditionalists sympathised with the classical heritage and did not like the pressure which was put on pagans. Holum claims that they promoted (with the help of Paulinus) Athenais/Eudocia and hoped that she would support their politics. Malalas and also a contemporary source (Socrates' *Church History*) relate that Athenais was baptised and renamed Eudocia before her marriage, Malalas adds that she had been a pagan.[16] In Holum's view the daughter of a pagan sophist would support paganism.

Cameron considers this kind of schema an over-simplification and denies the possibility of Eudocia being an agent of the traditionalists, a group which he rejects. He stresses the great influence of the Empress Pulcheria and accepts that she introduced the young Athenais.[17] He does not consider there to be any irony in the story. Nor does he believe the story to have the function of emphasising the later clash between the Empresses. Politically speaking, Eudocia was unimportant.[18] As the folk tale surrounding Eudocia is reminiscent of the Cinderella-type, she cannot have been a member of a very powerful family. None of her kin held supreme power. If Pulcheria wanted to forestall the powerful families from gaining more influence, a bride from outside those circles would have been an excellent choice.

The main problem with Holum's interpretation is, however, that there are scant contemporary sources. In fact, the first description of the Empress Eudocia after Socrates' *Church History* is found in Malalas' *Chronicle*. Marriage was not a private business to be undertaken without the permission of other members of the family.[19] If the emperor had married a woman against the wish of his powerful sister, there probably would be some hints about this.

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15 Holum (1982), 115.

16 Socrates 7.21, Malalas 14 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 355); Holum (1982), 84–86, 112–113. I discuss Eudocia's paganism later, see below, Chapter III.

17 Alan Cameron (1982), 271–273.

18 *Id.*, 276–277. Malalas does not tell us about any kind of clash between the Empresses.

19 There are, of course, examples of situations where the one holding power has been unable to influence the person whom the emperor will marry – Rufinus failed to wed his daughter to Arcadius. But that relationship is not analogous to the relationship between Pulcheria and Theodosius.

b) The Family Dispute

Another problem is whether or not the story about the inheritance has a core of truth in it. We have no other information about Athenais' motives for coming to Constantinople, but there would be no need to invent a family dispute: being orphaned would be reason enough for a young lady to move to her aunt's home, especially if her father Leontius and brothers had been incapable of arranging for a suitable marriage for her in Athens.

On the other hand, this episode demonstrates Eudocia's clemency. Athenais/Eudocia had been maltreated by her brothers, but she considered this to be due to fate; the instrument by which she met the emperor. When Eudocia brought her brothers Valerius and Gessius to Constantinople, instead of being punished they were given the high offices of praetorian prefects.

Eudocia seems to have had influential enough relatives in Constantinople, because it was quite difficult to arrange to meet the empress herself.[20] It is only in the legend that this paternal aunt is mentioned, but it is quite possible that Leontius had a sister. This relative of Eudocia, however, was by no means one of the close circle around the Empress Pulcheria. It was necessary to have a reason to ask for an audience: the story gives us a valid explanation.

c) The Role of Paulinus

What was the role of Paulinus, the friend and fellow-student of Theodosius? Is his role only to clearly show tension in the story, the ruined friendship between Paulinus and the emperor,[21] or was he the traditionalist who introduced Athenais to Theodosius in spite of Pulcheria?[22]

As stated above, there is no indication that Theodosius married without the approval of his sister. Furthermore, the story mentions that the groomsman Paulinus had free access to Eudocia. It is difficult, therefore, to think that the function of this episode is anything else but to ostensively underline the clash between two old friends, the Emperor Theodosius and Paulinus. There is no hint that Paulinus had any connection with Eudocia before she entered the Court.

d) The Tragedy

The dramatic story of an exceptionally beautiful apple which was the cause of jealousy between Theodosius and Eudocia resulting in Paulinus' death is a typical folk tale. In Byzantine folklore the apple is a symbol of love and erotic attachment: the Phrygian apple especially is an allusion to the Trojan War and the love between Paris and Helen.[23] This story has raised the suspicion of Eudocia's adultery. The charge of adultery is a serious

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20 It seems that unofficial ways were the best and the quickest, see Bury (1923), 142–147.

21 Alan Cameron (1982), 277.

22 Holum (1982), 120.

23 Littlewood (1974), 41, 46–48; Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (1989), 74, note 250.

one as it would imply that Eudocia wanted to replace her husband, and the corespondent would have been charged with high treason.[24]

On the other hand, Alan Cameron points out that the function of the story is to emphasise Eudocia's innocence, and to exaggerate Theodosius' jealousy. It is, however, a proof that there were rumours of adultery.[25]

Another question is when did these rumours start and is there any truth in them. There are no extant contemporary sources to confirm the rumours: only an obscure reference to "the death of the prince of adultery who put the empress in shame" in Nestorius' apocalyptic description about the miseries that had occurred after the giving up of the true religion, that is to say Nestorianism, written in about A.D. 450.[26] But it is not self-evident that Nestorius is referring to Eudocia and Paulinus; there are two other possibilities.

Firstly, Nestorius might refer to Pulcheria and Paulinus.[27] Before his views on the Virgin Mary were considered to be heretical by the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), Nestorius was the Patriarch of Constantinople. At the end of the 420's he suspected Paulinus of having an affair with the most pious virginal Empress Pulcheria.[28] That is why Pulcheria and Nestorius were at odds on a personal level. Later in Nestorian historiography the Empress Pulcheria is suspected of having had seven lovers.[29]

On the other hand, the Empress Pulcheria did retire from the Court in about A.D. 439 in a way that caused the historian Socrates not to mention her name in his *Church History*. The other church historian of the day, Sozomen, who wrote in the latter part of the 440's, praised Pulcheria for helping her brother to rule the empire, but he did not mention Eudocia. Neither Socrates nor Sozomen dares go beyond the year 439! As Pulcheria returned to power in A.D. 451, it is possible that these unpleasant rumours failed to survive except in the Nestorian chronicles.

The second possibility is that Nestorius is referring to a scandal in the Western Court. There the Empress Honoria had fallen into shame because of a love affair with a certain Eugenius (who was beheaded).[30]

In the legend Paulinus is described as being young and handsome. In fact, he must have been about the same age as Theodosius as they were fellow-students. He may well have been handsome. He was executed either in A.D. 440 or 444.[31] The earlier date is preferable, because it is given by Marcellinus Comes. The later date is usual in the later chronicles, but they are not too trustworthy as they extend their stories out of the time limits of a year. As Eudocia's second visit to Jerusalem can be dated in A.D. 440/441 and as it is probable that these events were almost contemporaneous, this would point to the earlier date.[32]

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24 Holum (1982), 193–194; Alan Cameron (1982), 258–259.

25 Alan Cameron (1982), 259. John of Nikiu claims (87.13) that historians lie about the reasons Eudocia left for Jerusalem.

26 Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* (transl. Nau (1910), 331).

27 This explanation is preferred by Stein (1928), 445 and Seeck (1920), 201–202.

28 Barhadbesabba 27 (*PO* 9, 565); *Lettre à Cosme* (transl. Nau (1910), 363–364); Holum (1982), 153. The tension between Pulcheria and Paulinus is indicated also in Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 340, and in *Suda*, Π 2145.

29 Barhadbesabba 27 (*PO* 9, 565); *Lettre à Cosme* (transl. Nau (1910), 363–364).

30 Priscus' fr. 17 (ed. Blockley (1983)); *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Iusta Grata Honoria.

31 Marcellinus Comes, *sub anno* 440; *Chronicon Paschale, sub anno* 444.

32 Eudocia's departure is firmly attested by the fall of the Prefect Cyrus in 441, also a detailed analysis of the trustworthiness of Marcellinus, see Alan Cameron (1982), 259–261; opposite view, see Holum (1982), 194.

Paulinus was executed in Cappadocia, which is far away from the Court. The usual explanation for the execution taking place so far away from the Court is that Theodosius wished to avoid an open scandal and that Paulinus was in exile. Alan Cameron even suspects that Eudocia had a son by Paulinus, called Arcadius.[33] After these miserable events, the unfaithful Empress Eudocia leaves for the Holy Land with all the dignities accorded to an empress, without a sign of shame or disgrace. How generous and gracious of the poor emperor!

With such meagre evidence, it is beyond our possibilities to discover the truth about these love affairs. However feeble the emperor might have been, it does not seem plausible that after such a scandal Eudocia would have been allowed to leave for Jerusalem with all the dignities accorded to an empress, especially as we know that she was later deprived of a part of her tenure, because she had killed an envoy of the emperor (in A.D. 444).[34] This latter episode resulted in her being forced to stay in Jerusalem until her death. But Eudocia did not lose her imperial status nor was there any *damnatio memoriae*. In the 450's Pope Leo addresses her in a letter as Augusta, and in the eighth century there was still a statue of Eudocia in the Tribunal of the Palace in Constantinople.[35]

The tragedy regarding the apple seems to be a folk tale with very little foundation in actual fact. There were rumours about the reasons for Eudocia's leaving. The earliest version we know is from Malalas. But rumours of adultery seem to be a *topos,* they merely show that nobody knew what really happened.[36] Only John of Nikiu claims explicitly that Paulinus tried to rebel against Theodosius. On the other hand, Priscus tells us that Theodosius was harsh towards those who attempted usurpation. But he does not name any usurpator.[37] If Eudocia's leaving for the Holy Land and Paulinus' death occurred within one year, it was simple to connect the two events: each one is difficult to explain as a single unrelated event.

II. The Empress Eudocia of the Anecdotes

Anecdotes are a special brand of folklore. They need not be literally true, but they do characterise some basic relevant elements of their object. There are a couple of interesting anecdotes concerning the Empress Eudocia.

Theodore Lector (first half of the seventh century) tells in his *Church History* an anecdote (repeated in later chronicles) from the Court of Theodosius II. The main point of the anecdote is that the Emperor Theodosius signed papers without reading them. His sister Pulcheria decided to teach him a lesson: Theodosius signed a decree in which his wife Eudocia was given as a slave to Pulcheria! Afterwards Pulcheria accused him of carelessness.[38]

Another anecdote (from the eighth century) tells of seven philosophers who came with Eudocia's brothers from Athens to Constantinople. They had a sort of competition in

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33 Alan Cameron (1982), 266–267. About the children of Eudocia see below, Chapter V.

34 Marcellinus Comes, *sub anno* 444.

35 Leo Magnus, *Epistola* 123 (*PL* 54, col. 1060), also in another letter he refers to Eudocia as Augusta: *Epistola* 117 (*PL* 54, col. 1038); *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 36 (ed. and transl. Averil Cameron and Herrin (1984), 96–97).

36 Hunt (1984), 237; Pulcheria was blamed in Nestorian historiography.

37 John of Nikiu 87.12; Priscus' fr. 16 (ed. Blockley (1983)).

38 Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 352. *Suda,* Π 2145.

discussion with the Emperor Theodosius in the Hippodrome concerning the statues there. The pagan philosophers interpreted the old statues and their meaning to the Emperor Theodosius.[39]

In later chronicles there are two more anecdotes concerning Eudocia and Pulcheria. Their theme is how the eunuch Chrysaphius used the inexperienced Eudocia as a tool to get rid of Pulcheria. First, Chrysaphius remarked to Eudocia that she did not have a chamberlain of her own unlike Pulcheria who did. When Eudocia asked Theodosius for one, he answered that Pulcheria was governing with skill and piety, and had earned a chamberlain, but Eudocia had not. Chrysaphius then suggested to Eudocia that Pulcheria should become a deaconess; had not Pulcheria devoted herself to Christ by her virginity? This was agreed upon by Theodosius, but the Patriarch of Constantinople warned Pulcheria. She retired from the Court to live a private life in the Hebdomon palace and sent her chamberlain to Eudocia.[40]

These anecdotes are not in contradiction with the picture given in the legend of Malalas. They bring forth mainly new aspects of the life of the Court. They give an unflattering picture of the Court of the Emperor Theodosius II: the studious emperor is not governing properly, but trusts too much on his ministers and sister.

The trusted eunuch of Theodosius, Chrysaphius, is given a central role. The inexperienced Eudocia seems to have been easily provoked to jealousy and easily mocked, but Pulcheria by her timely retirement knew politics. Eudocia is associated with pagan philosophers.

What is rather odd in these anecdotes is the pious naivety of the emperor: ordaining his sister as a deaconess as a favour. It was much more usual in Byzantine politics that from an administrative office one was after *falling out of favour* ordained as a presbyter or a bishop.[41] In fact this story of being ordained as a deaconess is almost the only hint of the disfavouring of Pulcheria, and this disfavour is confirmed by the fact that Socrates ignores her totally in his *Church History*. If we recall that retiring to a monastery was recommended to adulterous women, it becomes more tempting to consider Pulcheria to be behind the tragic fate of Paulinus.

III. The Empress Eudocia in the Eastern Court

Religion...

As there has been much ado about Eudocia's religious sympathies and paganism, they must be reconsidered. The young Athenais must have received a traditional classical education, as she was cultivated enough to write heroic poems to the Emperor Theodosius.[42] But whether her education had been pagan or Christian is unclear. We have no firm information about the religious attitudes of her family.

Alan Cameron, who identifies Eudocia's father Leontius with the converted sophist mentioned by Damascius, believes that Athenais had an acquaintance with Christianity

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39 *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 64.

40 *Suda*, Θ 145; Nicephorus Callistus 14.47; Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 352; Theophanes, *anno mundi* 5940; Alan Cameron (1982), 263–264; Holum (1982), 192.

41 From the time of Theodosius we know at least two: Antiochus and Cyrus, Priscus' fr. 7–8 (ed. Blockley (1983)), *Suda*, K 2776.

42 Socrates 7.21 praises her skill in versifying.

before her baptism and marriage.[43] The identification is by no means sure, though it is interesting. On the other hand Holum, who identifies a pagan governor Valerius mentioned by Olympiodorus with Eudocia's brother, holds it evident that Eudocia had a pagan background.[44] Even though the identification would stand, it was not uncommon to have both pagans and Christians in the same family.[45]

First of all, we have to scrutinise Socrates' account. As Socrates was a contemporary of Eudocia and the Court was probably thought to be one of his audiences he must have been careful in his utterances about the emperor and empress. Socrates tells us that the Patriarch Atticus baptised Athenais, the daughter of the Athenian sophist Leontius, and gave her the new name Eudocia.[46] Also, in later chronicles it is always mentioned that Eudocia was a pagan and was baptised.[47]

At the beginning of the fifth century, the custom of baptising children had not yet been established, although it was propagated already by some Church Fathers: John Chrysostom, Augustine and Gregory of Nazianzus (though Gregory considered that the child should be older than three years). Officially children were not expected to be baptised until the sixth century.[48] At the end of the fourth century, even the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nectarius was baptised only just before he entered this office.[49] Peter the Iberian, who spent his youth at the Court of Theodosius II and already at that time devoted his life to prayers, was not baptised until his visit to the Holy Land. At the end of the fifth century it was still common in the East to be baptised after one had reached one's thirties.[50] It seems that in some way one could be a Christian already before baptism.

Anyway, Socrates wanted to stress that Eudocia had been baptised.[51] To be baptised by the orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople must surely have had a special meaning. It is probable that Eudocia had a background which looked too pagan in the eyes of her contemporaries, as she did her best to prove her Christianity.

The only church built by Eudocia in Constantinople of which we know the name is St. Polyeuctus.[52] As Eudocia could have chosen any saint, the choice of St. Polyeuctus must have been significant. Especially as St. Polyeuctus was an unusual choice; there are very few churches dedicated to him. Polyeuctus suffered martyrdom during the suppression by Decius. He was converted to Christianity and he abandoned his family. He destroyed statues of pagan gods, and did so even in front of the Roman soldiers who then killed him. His bravery gave strength to others to become Christians.[53] Eudocia's choice of St.

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43 Alan Cameron (1982), 274.

44 Holum (1982), 114–127; Olympiodorus' fr. 27 (ed. Blockley (1983)).

45 Setälä (1993), 186–187.

46 Socrates 7.21.

47 Usually it is only said that Athenais was a Hellene, but a Hellene, Greek, meant pagan. The prejudgements are clear in John of Nikiu: Eudocia "had been a pagan of the sect of philosophers" (*Chronicle* 84.33 (ed. Charles (1916), 94)). Only Marcellinus Comes, *sub anno* 421 says neutrally *Achivam*.

48 Justinian I decreed that children should be baptised. Of course it took some time before this was carried out effectively. *ER* 2, *s.v.* Baptism; *EEC*, *s.v.* Baptism; *DACL*, *s.v.* baptême.

49 Also the Bishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, was baptised just before entering this office.

50 Athanasius, *The Conflict of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch* (*PO* 4, 600).

51 Baptism was not a common theme in Socrates, but connected with extraordinary situations: the Patriarch Atticus baptised a handicapped Jew, who thus recovered – this miracle is also related by Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 303. It is an interesting coincidence that Atticus baptised Athenais! Despite his name Atticus did not originate from Attica.

52 *AP* 1.10; Mango and Sevcenko (1961), 243–247; F.Deichmann attributes her also the church of Polyeuctus in Ravenna, see Deichmann (1976) II.2, 355.

53 *DACL*, *s.v.* Polyeucte.

Polyeuctus was probably a sign to her contemporaries of her religious politics as the new empress. The propagandist value of the church would be at its peak soon after her own baptism. She also seems to have demonstrated the religious policy of the Court in Athens, something she did by choice rather than by necessity.

The Emperor Theodosius' three sisters had all devoted their lives to virginity and the life of the Court resembled a monastery. The emperor lived almost like a monk, regularly fasting and praying.[54] There is no evidence that Eudocia experienced any difficulty living in such a Christian atmosphere, nor are there direct sources concerning her activities in Constantinople except that in A.D. 422 she gave birth to her first daughter, and in A.D. 423 she was declared *Augusta*.[55] It seems that Eudocia was interested in theological questions and that together with the emperor she supported the Patriarch Nestorius. At least the Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril, who opposed Nestorius, considered Eudocia worthy of a long treatise about the orthodox faith.[56]

Eudocia made her first pilgrimage to Jerusalem in A.D. 438 and a second one in A.D. 441. She was a close friend of St. Melania the Younger. Eudocia is known to have built and decorated many churches and monasteries during these pilgrimages.[57] She brought the relics of St. Stephen to Constantinople where they were deposited in a chapel which Pulcheria had built.[58] Eudocia has been connected with other relics, too. It has been said that she sent the chains of St. Peter to her daughter in Rome[59] and a picture of the Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke to Pulcheria.[60]

...and Culture

Eudocia's own literary activities as far as they have been preserved,[61] show very strict Christianity. In contemporary discussion about the value of a classical education Eudocia seems to have taken the line of the Apollinarii of Laodicea: she produced poetry which had a classical form but Christian content. It is extremely interesting that she most probably knew Proba's *Cento* (the life of Jesus in Virgilian verses) as there was a copy of it for educational purposes for the children of the Court.[62] It is a tempting idea that Eudocia started her Homeric verses already at the Court of Constantinople in order to produce Christian material in Greek for her daughter. Since the historian Socrates criticises this literary genre, Alan Cameron takes this as proof that Eudocia had not written her Christian verses before A.D. 439.[63] On the other hand, Socrates, who does

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54 Socrates 7.22; Hunt (1984), 224.

55 Marcellinus Comes, *sub anno* 422; *Chronicon Paschale, sub anno* 423.

56 Seeck (1920), 214–215; *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (transl. Festugière (1982), 69–111); Alan Cameron (1982), 281; Holum (1982), 159–161, 163–165 where Holum suspects that the treatise was only for Pulcheria.

57 Socrates 7.47; *Vita Melaniae* 58; Evagrius 1.22; Nicephorus Callistus 14.50; John of Nikiu 87.21.46; Cedrenus 591; *Chronicon Paschale, sub anno* 444; Jean Rufus, *Plérophories* XI and XX (in *PO* 8, 27 and 39–40); see also note 125 below.

58 Marcellinus Comes, *sub anno* 439; about the importance of owning relics see Clark (1986). It is possible that Eudocia gave one foot of St. Stephen to the church of Theodoroupolis (Gorce (1962), 246–247; Meïmaris (1983), 11–12).

59 *ILS* 818.

60 Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 353.

61 These are in Eudocia Augusta, *Carminum Graecorum reliquiae* (ed. Ludwich (1897)).

62 Proba, *Cento* (Clark and Hatch (1981), 12–13, 100).

63 Alan Cameron (1982), 283.

not praise the empress very much, regards Eudocia's literary activities, the encomium to the emperor in A.D. 422 worthy of mention.[64] After that Eudocia seems not to have done anything worth mentioning. Perhaps already at that time Eudocia supported the genre which Socrates disliked.

Eudocia has been connected with literary and philosophical circles from the early Byzantine historiography until modern times. Like many other daughters of sophists and philosophers Eudocia had been educated by her father in literature and rhetorics much more than women in general.[65] In later sources her father is a philosopher (in Eudocia's day there was still a distinction between a sophist and a philosopher, but later this difference tends to disappear). One of her friends, Cyrus, is known to have been a good poet.[66] Apart from this we do not have many sources about these circles.

Theodosius himself was very studious and his sister Pulcheria had not forgotten her own education, so Eudocia was by no means the only one in the Court interested in culture. At the Court there were many persons who wrote encomia to the emperor, but their poetry has not survived. The age of Theodosius has been seen as a watershed, not so much promoting poetry but history.[67] The famous poets at the Court were Eudocia and Cyrus, the third known by name is Ammonius. Most of the poetry of Eudocia that we know dates from her stay in Jerusalem (A.D. 440–460).[68]

Eudocia has been associated with philosophy, which is quite natural as she was the daughter of a sophist or a philosopher, as later chroniclers relate. The anecdote above about the seven philosophers is a good example. As Alan Cameron has pointed out, it is a piece of a traditional folk tale, mixing the stories of seven Athenian philosophers in Justinian's time and the daughter of an Athenian philosopher, who became an empress. It has the function of crystallising Eudocia's piety on her pagan background, the Byzantine theme which underscores Eudocia's literal preference for Jerusalem over Athens.[69] In the so-called University of Constantinople (founded A.D. 425) there was only one chair for philosophy, but five chairs for Greek and three for Latin sophists.[70] Support of the Greek language might have been due to the Greek Empress, at least the use of the Greek language in the administration is attributed to her friend Cyrus.[71]

Administration and Politics

Though imperial piety held very exclusive orthodox views, these were not carried out effectively in the administration: a law of A.D. 415 denied pagans the right to hold office,[72] as also were heretics.[73] In theory the imperial piety tried to suppress non-

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64 Socrates 7.21.

65 *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 64 onwards, from modern historygraphy a good examle is Lemerle (1971), 62; Marinus 9; of course the most famous case was Hypatia.

66 Alan Cameron (1982), 217–257 has an excellent analysis of Cyrus.

67 Harris (1991), 269.

68 Downey (1958), 302.

69 Alan Cameron (1982), 273, 279, see also the commentary in Averil Cameron and Herrin (1984), 253–259.

70 *CTh* XIV.9.3. The "University" of Constantinople is good example of the tightening Christian atmosphere of the Court trying to control different aspects of life. About the non-significance of Eudocia's role in this there is nothing to add to Alan Cameron's analysis, see Alan Cameron (1982), 286.

71 Bury (1923), 228; Constantelos (1971), 453; Dagron (1974), 272.

72 *CTh* XVI.10.21.

orthodox elements, but there continued to be people in the administration who did not hold especially exclusive orthodox Christian views. At the time of Theodosius II there were less non-Christians in the adminstration than earlier,[74] which is a symptom of ideology becoming politics. But the suppression of non-orthodox views cannot have been very effective as laws were continuously issued prohibiting impious practices.

The strengthening of the civil administration continued to be the policy as a reaction to anti-germanism after the episode of Gainas. While Helio was *magister officiorum* (A.D. 414–427) the office became supreme, with control over almost all the other offices including the military ones.[75] It is also possible that the *magister* held some power in church politics.[76] If Eudocia had been actively promoting traditionalists, the post of *magister* would have been the first one to have been occupied.

On the other hand, it seems that many of those who *de facto* ruled in the Eastern court, did not receive official recognition.[77] Many whom we know from the official records have left too few traces, just enough to wake our curiosity, but too little to give any answers. Who was the illustrious Macrobius *praepositus* who in an enthusiastic law was given the first place among all others for his merits in A.D. 422?[78]

It is true that Theodosius put favourite ministers in charge, and Malalas names them: Antiochus (408–414/421), Cyrus (438–441) and Chrysaphius (441–450). Malalas leaves a gap between Antiochus and Cyrus, which Cameron takes as proof that there was no special favourite during the long ascendancy of Pulcheria.[79] On the other hand, Helio (A.D. 414–427) seems to have been the trustee of the Empress Pulcheria and Theodosius. It is very interesting that Helio, who received his office when Pulcheria took over control of the state in A.D. 414, continued to hold power in the 420's. Helio was trusted with the coronation of young Valentinian III in the West in A.D. 424.[80] After Helio several men held the post of *magister officiorum* in the 430's. At that time Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria tried to bribe the old eunuch Chryseros because of the considerable influence which he exerted on Theodosius.[81]

There is a continuity in the persons involved in the administration. Some of them hold the high offices of prefects at intervals of ten years, such as Isidorus: in 410, 424, and 435. Men like Florentius seem to be in the closest circle and have long careers in high offices. We do not know very much about Florentius except that he was City prefect in A.D. 422 and praetorian prefect in A.D. 428 and 438–439; between 444 and 448 he was made patrician and in 451 he gave advice to the new Emperor Marcian.[82]

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73 *CTh* XVI.5.58; XVI.5.65. Heretics were also denied the right to make testaments *etc.*

74 Von Haehling (1978), 505, 507–510, 590, and 600.

75 Clauss (1980), 124.

76 *Id.* 155.

77 Jones (1964) I , 344.

78 *CTh* VI.8.1. Clyde Pharr identifies him with Aurelius Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, author of *Saturnalia,* but this is not widely accepted (Pharr (1952), 128, note 5; *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Macrobius).

79 John Malalas 14 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 361); Alan Cameron (1982), 224.

80 Olympiodorus' fr. 43 (ed. Blockley (1983)); Jones (1964) I , 179.

81 The patriarch hoped to win the Court and Theodosius to his side during the Nestorian controversy. Barhadbesabba 22 (*PO* 9, 541); *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Chryseros 1.

82 *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Fl. Anthemius Isidorus; Florentius is addressed especially warmly in the laws and he holds important posts several times, *e.g. CTh* VI.8.1, VIII.4.29, *NTh* 1.1, 3.1, 5.2, 7.1; see *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Fl. Florentius 7.

Eudocia and Politics

As Eudocia has been regarded as favouring pagans and classical culture, the politics of the Court have been interpreted as having become more friendly towards pagans than they had been earlier. Kenneth Holum in particular in his *Theodosian Empresses* promotes a theory of traditionalists, and sees the relationship to the old religions and classical culture as the main common element within them.[83] According to him the traditionalists gained more power in the administration thanks to Eudocia and her family. It is evident that members of Eudocia's family held high offices and ranks as was normal (κηδεία) in the imperial administration system. But they were few – we know of only one uncle and two brothers – and there is no proof of their opinions regarding the party politics of the Court. As stated above, Athenais/Eudocia was a bride outside of the noble and powerful families active in the politics of the day.

The schema of the two conflicting parties within the Court is a good one, although the situation probably was not as dichotomic as Holum claims. Tension did not exist between pagans and Christians though there probably was discord in their attitude to religion[84] and the corresponding politics. From Priscus' fragmentary history we know that political opinions were also diverse in questions other than religious ones.[85]

a) Asclepiodotus, Eudocia's Uncle

The laws issued in the period when Eudocia's maternal uncle Asclepiodotus was praetorian prefect have been interpreted as especially liberal to non-Christians. The laws have been taken as proof of sympathy for paganism in the Court and evidence of the traditionalists holding power after Eudocia entered the Court.[86]

In February A.D. 423 Theodosius issued a law, in which it was stated that no synagogues should be indiscriminately taken away from the Jews. Also, that if the synagogues had been recently seised or subsumed by the church, the Jews should be granted compensation, but that in the future no synagogues should be constructed.[87] In April A.D. 423 this and earlier laws against pagans (though the emperor believed that none existed) and against Jews were repeated, but the injuring and persecuting of Jews was prohibited.[88]

The last series of these laws is from June (A.D. 423). The recent decrees are repeated and the surviving pagans were strictly prohibited from making sacrifices; failure to comply would be punished with the proscription of their goods and exile, though, it was stated, they should be subjected to capital punishment. But the most interesting is the last one. After other matters it commanded that those persons who are truly Christians should not dare to lay violent hands on Jews or pagans, who were living quietly and attempting nothing disorderly or contrary to the law. Also if their goods are plundered they must be

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83 Holum (1982), 84–86, 112–113.

84 O'Donnell (1979), 48–49.

85 Priscus' fr. 3 (ed. Blockley (1983)) makes it clear, that Theodosius a was coward, because he obtained peace by money, not fighting. An important question was whether the commander's post *magister militum* was occupied by a Roman or German descendant.

86 Holum (1982), 124–125.

87 *CTh* XVI.8.25.

88 *CTh* XVI.8.26, XVI.10.22.

restored, and, after investigation, compensation up to triple the amount that had been robbed. Governors who did not try to prevent such crimes were to be fined.[89]

Alan Cameron has noted that the issuing of laws prescribing exile and confiscation of property instead of execution did not show particular amicability towards pagans, as clemency was one of the virtues of the Emperor Theodosius. According to Socrates, Theodosius never inflicted capital punishment.[90] Nor do these laws show very much understanding of the Jews, but it does seem that decrees prohibiting the destruction of synagogues were needed now and then.[91]

This series of laws issued from February to June A.D. 423 seems to be connected to serious troubles in the East. The laws repeating the prohibition of persecution of Jews and pagans illustrate the situation quite clearly. It is not an image of a peaceful province, where an active prefect is improving the lot of pagans and Jews.

In Syria and Palestine the majority of the population was non-Christians, mostly Jews and Samaritans. The increasing number of pilgrims attracted vast numbers of poor people and monks to the area, as the pilgrims were known for their generosity.[92] Sometimes militant monks caused great damage to non-Christians, and persecuted them. This seems to have been the situation when Asclepiodotus was praetorian prefect in A.D. 423.

A famous militant Syrian monk, Barsauma, made a trip to Jerusalem (around 422) with 40 brothers, and they destroyed the sacred places of the Jews, Samaritans and pagans.[93] It is possible that these "liberal" laws were caused by this movement comprised of plundering by zealous Christians. From the point of view of the state and the administration private war-like pursues were dangerously anarchistic and endangered all aspects of normal life, not least tax-collection. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that the laws were issued in a series repeating the same principles: plundering and persecuting were forbidden, even though plunderers were Christians and the persecuted were non-Christians. Perhaps the purpose of imperial clemency, which preferred exile to capital punishment, was to prevent people from taking the law into their own hands: why wait, when according to the law the pagans should be killed? Evidently the last law was harsh: the punishment must have lessened the interest of the not so zealous followers to plunder, and the local governors became more active in preventing persecutions. The situation calmed down.

In the eyes of some Christians these laws were too friendly towards Jews: in a furious letter from St. Simeon Stylite to the Emperor this favouring of the Jews was criticised. Holum gives this as an explanation to the fact that Asclepiodotus disappears from the sources in the spring of 425.[94] But Asclepiodotus had already been a consul and a praetorian prefect, so he had acquired dignities enough to hold a high status. Also these laws which bothered St. Simeon were issued in the spring of 423 and Asclepiodotus was still in office in February 425. Though such a zealous Christian as St. Simeon blamed

89 *CTh* XVI.8.27, XVI.10.23, XVI.10.24.

90 Alan Cameron (1982), 266; Socrates 7.22. Socrates wrote his history in about A.D. 439, when there had been decreed new strict (capital punishment) laws against pagans and Jews, which caused riots in the East (Theodore Lector, *Epitome* 336).

91 *CTh* XVI.8.9 (A.D. 393), XVI.8.12 (A.D. 396), XVI.8.21 (A.D. 412).

92 Frend (1972), 152; Avi-Yonah (1958), 45–47.

93 Nau (1927), 189–192.

94 Holum (1982), 125; *CTh* XV.5.5.

Asclepiodotus for favouring Jews, we do not have convincing evidence for the religious views of Asclepiodotus.[95]

b) Valerius, Eudocia's Brother

It has been commonly accepted that Valerius, *magister officiorum* in A.D. 435, was the brother of Eudocia mentioned in the legend.[96] In the same year Isidorus, whom Holum has identified as a traditionalist,[97] was the prefect of the East; thus it would be likely that there was sympathy for paganism in the government. In that year, however, Theodosius issued a law which ordered all temples to be destroyed and purified (with a Christian sign) by the municipalities, and anyone who mocked the law was to be punished by death.[98] This law is remarkable for its lack of sympathy to the pagans, as it required active measures against the old religions. It also tried to be extremely effective, as the municipalities were expected to act according to it and they, too, were to be punished if they did not comply with the law. In this way the law of A.D. 435 is much harsher than the law, which was issued three years later. The law of A.D. 438 which suppressed non-Christians and heretics strictly condemned paganism. Any person making a sacrifice in any place, would call up the imperial wrath against his fortune and his life.[99] But the law of A.D. 435 was active in suppressing, whereas the law of A.D. 438 is merely reacting against active paganism.

In the sources there is no evidence as to the religious views of Eudocia's family. Later, in the 450's, Valerius seems to have been orthodox.[100] The other brother, Gessius, to whom the legend attributes the prefecture of Illyricum has not left any other traces, so that is the only thing we know about him.

c) Antiochus, the *praepositus* of Theodosius

The one and only case where Eudocia is hinted to have been influenting to the administration is the fall of the powerful eunuch Antiochus. He was put aside by Theodosius right after the wedding according to Zonaras. Another later chronicler, Theophanes, attributes the fate of Antiochus to Pulcheria's influence.[101] Antiochus had been very close to the Emperor for many years and his career had been a long one: already in A.D. 404 he was a *cubicularius* and later he was *praepositus sacri cubiculi*. Malalas tells us that Antiochus took care of the young Theodosius. Antiochus was in fact the one who ruled. Theodosius subsequently became displeased with Antiochus and he was put aside by

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95 *CTh* XV.5.5. If Eudocia's mother was an Athenian, we would have here an Athenian Asclepiodotus. We know one Athenian family who used to have names alluding to the god Asclepius and was pagan minded (see *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Theagenes, Asclepigeneia 1 and 2). But there is no proof these things have any connection. On Christian tombstones there are names like Asclepiodote and Asclepia! (See Gregory (1986), 239.)

96 *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Valerius 6.

97 Holum (1982), 120.

98 *CTh* XVI.10.25. The law is addressed to the Prefect Isidorus.

99 *NTh* 3.1. It is possible that Socrates' eulogy on Theodosius' clemency was a reaction to this law.

100 Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, *Vita Sancti Euthymii* 47.11–14.

101 Zonaras 13.22; Theophanes, *anno mundi* 5905. Holum prefers Theophanes' version, Holum (1982), 91; *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Antiochus 5.

being given a priestly office.[102] Furthermore, Priscus attributes the retirement of Antiochus to Theodosius himself, as he became angry at Antiochus and made him a priest of the great church of Constantinople.[103] The date of the downfall is vague, any time between Pulcheria's ascendancy and the wedding (that is between A.D. 414–421). Already in A.D. 422 there was a new favourite as *praepositus*, the illustrious Macrobius, who seems to have held that office already for some time.[104] The evidence for Eudocia having been involved in this affair is not very convincing.

d) Paulinus, the Fellow-student

Theodosius' fellow-student Paulinus, whom the tradition mentions, also remains a mystery. In addition to his love-affairs, he is known to have been *magister officiorum*. In the *Theodosian Code* he is mentioned only once in A.D. 430, though Alan Cameron has shown that he was *magister* in A.D. 440, too.[105] It seems that Paulinus made some renovations to the imperial administration including the secret service in the spring of A.D. 430. Apart from this his official career was very short: he had already been replaced by A.D. 431.[106] There seems to have been tension between Pulcheria and Paulinus, and in Nestorian historiography they are explicitly linked with each other. Though in the legend of Malalas it is stated that Paulinus was a good friend to Theodosius and also close to Eudocia, Pulcheria is omitted and it does not explain why she retired to the Hebdomon Palace. John of Nikiu alone claims that Paulinus tried to rebel against Theodosius, and if we connect this with the claim of Priscus that Theodosius was harsh against usurpators, he could be considered as an usurpator.[107] But if Eudocia had been involved in the fate of Paulinus, is it likely that Theodosius would have given the consulship in 441 to Cyrus, a man his wife admired?

e) Cyrus, the Poet and Favourite of Eudocia

The Egyptian poet Cyrus, who held the city prefecture and the praetorian prefecture simultaneously for four years (438/439 onwards) is a man who enjoyed special favours, as he was also a consul in A.D. 441.[108] It is explicitly stated that Eudocia admired Cyrus and that Cyrus was deposed from his office while Eudocia was away and, therefore, could not protect him.[109] Priscus relates that Theodosius envied the acclamations which Cyrus received at the Hippodrome and so Cyrus was plotted against and stripped of his office and ordained a bishop.[110] Earlier in modern historiography Cyrus was considered

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102 John Malalas 14 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 361).
103 Priscus' fr. 7 (ed. Blockley (1983)).
104 *CTh* VI.8.1.
105 *CTh* VI.27.23; Alan Cameron (1982), 267, note 162.
106 Clauss (1980), 141, 179. After Helio there was not another long-term *magister*, but there are seven persons recorded in the office between 427–446.
107 See Chapter I. c) "The Role of Paulinus" and d) "The Tragedy"; Priscus' fr. 16 (ed. Blockley (1983)); John of Nikiu 87.12.
108 *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus Hierax; a detailed analysis: see Alan Cameron (1982). Firm dates for his offices see *CLRE*, 417.
109 *Suda*, K 2776.
110 Priscus' fr. 8 (ed. Blockley (1983)); *Suda*, K 2776.

a pagan, but now it is commonly accepted that he was not. In Christian discourse (as a builder of a church of Theotokos) he was an anti-Nestorian.[111]

Cyrus' fall can be firmly dated to the autumn 441[112] which in turn dates Eudocia's leaving for the Holy Land to the spring of 441 (she was absent before autumn). It is evident that the *primus motor* behind Cyrus' fate was the chamberlain Chrysaphius[113] who gradually gained the confidence of the Emperor Theodosius. Cyrus was a celebrated poet and favoured the use of the Greek language in administration.[114]

f) Theodosius II, the Husband of Eudocia

The emperor was studious and admired the monks. He was nicknamed "the Calligrapher", which tells us a great deal about his interests. Theodosius had a collection of theological literature and was deeply involved in the christological controversies of his day. As in the anecdote above (Chapter III) about Theodosius signing papers without reading them, the Emperor is described as a person who put too much trust in his ministers and sister when it came to governing. His non-involvement in political governing emerges also from other sources.[115] It is noteworthy that when Socrates praises Theodosius as the sole ruler of the empire, he attributes virtues suitable for a Christian holy man to Theodosius.[116] Clemency and piety are the main virtues of the Emperor.

In fact the first time the Emperor clearly had a policy of his own and opposed his sister was during the Nestorian controversy of A.D. 430–431.[117] In his Nestorian policy he was supported by his wife. But this conflict finished with a solution of compromise, which the emperor supported. At least in religious policy Theodosius followed his own views and did not let either his sister or his wife repress him. But we know that there were other people who had a considerable influence over him.[118]

g) Pulcheria, the Sister-in-Law of Eudocia

The Empress Pulcheria had a great influence in the Court. She was declared *Augusta* in A.D. 414, however, as she had already devoted her virginity to God, she would not bring forth a male partner to rival with her brother Theodosius. She actively used her

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111 After the article of Constantelos (1971), also Alan Cameron has revised his earlier opinions and accepted Cyrus' Christianity (Alan Cameron (1982)). Holum identifies Cyrus as a traditionalist and keeps him nominally Christian (Holum (1982), 189–193). It is difficult to determinate whether he was a monophysite or an orthodox. Anyway he resigned from his bishopric after the death of Theodosius and after the Council of Chalcedon.

112 Dagron (1974), 269.

113 *Vita Danielis* 16.

114 John Lydus II.12 (ed. Bandy (1983), 102) and III.42 (ed. Bandy (1983), 198); Constantelos (1971), 453; Alan Cameron (1982), 225; Zilliacus (1935), 25–26.

115 Priscus' fr.3 (ed. Blockley (1983)).

116 Socrates 7.22.

117 *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (transl. Festugière (1982), 69–111). I have discussed this in my article Burman (1991), 51–59; Seeck (1920), 214–215; Holum (1982), 147–174.

118 Barhadbesabba 27 (*PO* 9, 541).

power, the imperial βασιλεία both openly and behind the scenes.[119] The anecdotes above are illuminating. Her central role is clear from all of the sources.

The only source where Pulcheria's absence is striking is in the *Church History* of Socrates. This is a clear indication that something exceptional must have happened at the end of 439, where Socrates ends his history. The next church historian, Sozomen, who praises Pulcheria, does not go any further in his chronology, although he was writing at the end of 440's.

In the anecdote above the chamberlain Chrysaphius provoked disunion between the Empresses. With the rise of Chrysaphius the change in the close circle around the Emperor occurs; Paulinus, Cyrus, Pulcheria and Eudocia disappear dramatically. It seems that Chrysaphius caused Pulcheria to withdraw into private life outside the city. But Pulcheria got her revenge in A.D. 451, when she returned to power, after the death of Theodosius, and married Marcian, who was declared the new emperor.

h) Achaea, the Home Province of Eudocia

The admittance to the Court of an Achaean girl who became an empress profited the province of Achaea. The imperial interest is obvious in the laws. Only one month after the imperial wedding of Theodosius and Eudocia a law was issued where the churches of Achaea and Illyricum should come under the see of Constantinople.[120] This was protested both by the Pope and by the western Emperor Honorius. The law was withdrawn and thus Illyricum and Achaea stayed under the Roman Pope via the vicariate of Thessalonike until the eighth century.[121]

In A.D. 423/424 a law promised remarkable tax relief to the Achaeans: "But since Achaeans have protested that they are not able to pay more than a third part, they shall pay that amount. (...) This arrangement shall be observed for all future times..."[122] This arrangement must have given the Achaeans some prosperous years. It seems evident also that the imperial interest continued to exist as in A.D. 435 the cases of ownerless and caducous property in Achaea should be especially carefully investigated and reported to the emperor.[123] This kind of special treatment implies that there were especially warm feelings towards Achaeans in the imperial administration. It was in this way that Eudocia used her power as an empress.

IV. Eudocia as a Benefactress

The later Byzantine chroniclers used Malalas and Evagrius, who were both Antiochians, as their source for Eudocia. So we have a good documentation of Eudocia's beneficence in Antioch, but very little about other cities. The concentration on Antioch may easily mislead us into thinking that Eudocia had a special connection to this city prior

119 Theophanes, *anno mundi* 5901. An excellent analysis of Pulcheria is in Holum (1982), 79–111, 130–146, 153–175, 195–216, and 224–226.
120 *CTh* XVI.2.45.
121 Bardy (1948), 159; Jones (1964) II, 883–889.
122 *CTh* XI.1.33.
123 *CTh* X.8.5.

to her visit to it on her way to the Holy Land in A.D. 438.[124] During the journey Eudocia gave donations to all the cities she visited.

Information about her activities in Jerusalem and in the Holy Land can be found in the hagiography. She spent about one third of her life in Jerusalem from A.D. 441 to her death in A.D. 460. She financed generous building activities and her role in the social and political life of Jerusalem was different from that in Constantinople. She held a much more central role. This is, of course, natural as in Jerusalem she was the only member of the imperial family.[125]

Constantinople

It is possible that soon after her marriage Eudocia built the church of St. Polyeuctus.[126] The church was well situated in the heart of the city, and probably it was given an important role in the liturgical processions. There were several processions in which Imperial personages took part already at the beginning of the century. We lack material about the routes of these processions in the days of Eudocia, but we do know that the church of St. Polyeuctus was included in the later route.[127]

As mentioned earlier Eudocia donated to the capital the relics of St. Stephen and a painting of the Virgin Mary, but we do not have any other information on her activities. We do not have a list of Eudocia's privately held properties in Constantinople, but as the other empresses had their own houses *(domus)*,[128] it is likely that she owned several. At least a part of the city was renamed after her, Eudociana.[129]

Athens

Traditionally Eudocia has been considered an Athenian, but this has been questioned by Kenneth Holum.[130] Holum suggests that Eudocia was from Antioch because according to Evagrius,[131] Eudocia herself claimed in Antioch that, "I am from the same kin and blood". Eudocia is also known to have sponsored great building activities in Antioch.[132] In her literary activities she was interested in the Antiochian Saint Cyprianus.

Evagrius explains Eudocia's words to be a reference to the Athenians, who were the ancient founders of the city. Alan Cameron supports this traditional view, too.[133] He

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124 Holum (1982), 117–118 rejects the traditional view of Eudocia being Athenian, his argument is based on his believe of Eudocia's special interest to Antioch.

125 See Burman (1991). A comprehensive article has recently been written by Dr. Jane C. Biers (Biers (1989–1990)), it also includes Eudocia's building activities in the Holy Land.

126 *AP* 1.10; Mango and Sevcenko (1961), 243–247.

127 According to the tenth-century book *De ceremoniis* the church of St. Polyeuctus was in the imperial processional routes, see Baldwin (1987), 183, 200.

128 Dagron (1974), 97–98; Janin (1950), 55, 57, and 61–62.

129 Janin (1950), 61.

130 Holum (1982), 118–119; Alan Cameron (1982), 278.

131 Evagrius 1.20.

132 *Ibid.*

133 Alan Cameron (1982), 278.

argues also that Malalas and Evagrius, as two loyal sons of Antioch, would surely had reported any hint of Eudocia being from Antioch.[134]

The sources leave the question of Eudocia's family open, but from the point of view of Athens it is a rather trivial question. Expressions such as Leontius of Athens (Λεοντίου γὰρ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν) or Orion of Caesarea do not always tell the place of birth, for example Orion was a native of Thebes.[135] It is possible that Leontius did his life-work in Athens. On her mother's side Athenais/Eudocia might well have originated from Athens anyway. Malalas tells us that after her father's death in Athens, Athenais went to her maternal aunt. Though sophists moved freely from one city to another it is less likely that women did so.

It seems evident that Eudocia's family had been living in Athens and so one could expect the Empress to have some relationship with that city. The laws concerning Achaea show a special favouring of this province. It is a pity that there were no historians from Athens in Late Antiquity who could have reported Eudocia's benefactions to Athens; we have to rely on indirect evidence.

There is only one direct source about Eudocia and Athens: an inscription published by my husband and colleague Erkki Sironen in *Hesperia,* in this publication inscription no. **33.**[136] According to the inscription a statue of Eudocia was erected in Athens. As the inscription is fragmentary it is impossible to say why the statue was erected, but the text proves that it was not an official imperial one. The inscription belongs to the dedicatory class. It is most likely that there was a special reason for the setting up of the statue.

We do not have any information to confirm the oral tradition of Eudocia's enormous building activities in Athens from the literary sources. Tradition attributes to Eudocia the building of twelwe churches.[137] Ordinary public or imperial building activities are not listed in the chronicles, but something as numerous as twelve churches should have left some traces.

After Alaric's sack of Athens an active period of rebuilding the city began. By A.D. 412 the so-called Hadrian's library was restored by the Prefect Herculius,[138] and the city was recovering from the sack. At the beginning of the 420's, the new tax reliefs must have facilitated this kind of rebuilding. For example a building in the area of the old Library of Pantainos was restored and enlarged, but the new function of the building is uncertain.[139] At the same time the street from the old Panathenaic Way was rebuilt to enter through the Post-Herulian Wall and reached the Roman Agora. One colonnade of the house ran along the south side of the street. Apparently the street had been in ruins since the Herulian sack in A.D. 267. Just outside the Post-Herulian Wall a large palace was built, the so-called Palace of the Giants. It is very tempting to imagine that this had a connection to the building of the tetraconch in the Library of Hadrian. These buildings must have ostensively beautified the city of Athens.

It must be more than a coincidence that after the marriage of Theodosius and Eudocia extensive building activities took place in Athens. But as there were building activities in

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134 Of course from a modern point of view it sounds rather odd that an Athenian would claim to be of the same blood as Antiochians, when their forefathers were from Athens. It would not be so strange, if it were an Antiochian claiming to be of the same blood as the Athenians.

135 Downey (1958), 301.

136 Sironen (1990). See here Sironen's inscription no. **33.**

137 Mommsen (1868), 68, note 1; 127.

138 Frantz (1988), 65.

139 Shear (1975); Camp (1986), 200–202. Frantz' description of the area is illuminating (Frantz (1988), 63–74). If not otherwise mentioned, I follow them.

Athens both before and after the time of Eudocia, it is likely that during the reign of Eudocia there were people other than the Empress shouldering the financial burden. The afore-mentioned tax relief might have played a part in this, though Eudocia may have given a donation of money, too. The evidence concerning Eudocia is meagre and because of this her role in these building activities remains speculative. Nevertheless, I shall propose a couple of good candidates which may have been built by Eudocia. They are possible, even plausible, but not demonstrable. It is unlikely that the family of Eudocia was forgotten. As the young Athenais and her family were not of the noblest and had been unable to find a suitable bridegroom in Athens, they may well have wanted to demonstrate their new social status in a visible way.

The identification of a profane building which could plausibly have been built by Eudocia is based on the dating, on the nature of the building itself, and on the fact that fragments of the above-mentioned statue base of Eudocia were found in front of it in a Late Roman context. This building, called the Palace of the Giants, is dated to the 420's. As Thompson pointed out, the architecture of the house seems to reflect imperial interest and to be very close to that of the tetraconch building in the Library of Hadrian.[140] This Palace would have been ideal for Eudocia's family, magnificent enough to demonstrate its new imperial status; it had a large entrance hall and also a clearly private residence. Eudocia's brother Gessius remained in Athens, but now enjoying his new prominent status. The argument that this building could have been the residence of Eudocia's brother is indirectly supported by the fact that the use of the building changes after 460, the time of Eudocia's death, when imperial influence would have ceased to exist.[141]

The archaeologist of our team, Ms. Arja Karivieri proposes some interesting arguments in support of the view that the tetraconch in the so-called Library of Hadrian was a church built by Eudocia (see Chapter VII. in Karivieri's article).[142] This Christian church would well suit the Christian propaganda Eudocia practised after her marriage. Also the similarities between the tetraconch and the Palace of the Giants suggest a common origin. The architecture of these buildings is exceptional and suggests an imperial interest. Such a tiny and unimportant provincial town as the fifth century Athens would probably not have raised any imperial interest unless there was a special reason. An Athenian Empress might well be a good explanation. Also Garth Fowden has noted that the choice of the old library as the site for a church would be fitting for the literary Empress.[143] It would be interesting to know whether the four niches in the church symbolised the four evangelists: the writers of the truth. Of the Early Christian churches in Athens the tetraconch is the one most likely to be attributable to Eudocia. For the basilica of Ilissus the evidence for an attribution to Eudocia is more meagre. The other churches along the old Panathenaic Way, in Eleusis and in the monastery of Daphni are even more unlikely candidates, even though promoting monasticism in Athens might have required special resources.[144]

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140 Thompson (1988), 110–112.

141 The building was probably damaged by Vandals and the new owners (rich Athenians?) rebuilt it as a villa. See Frantz (1988), 78; Castrén (1991), 475–476; Fowden (1990), 497–498.

142 The tetraconch church has been attributed to Eudocia by other scholars, too: De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 182–184, Delvoye (1967), 50, and Fowden (1990), 499.

143 Frantz (1988), 73; Thompson (1988), 110; Fowden (1990), 498–499. It is tempting to think that the Christians in Athens practised the same kind of propaganda and liturgy as in other parts of the empire, *i.e.* processions. As the monumental centre in Athens got its first church, this must have become the ending point of a liturgical procession.

144 Skontzos (1988), 50; Fowden (1990), 500, attributes the monastery of Daphni to Eudocia, earlier it has been attributed to Pulcheria by Millet (1899), 16.

V. The Children of the Eastern Court

It is well established that Eudocia and Theodosius II had one daughter who survived early childhood, Eudoxia, who became the Empress of the Western Empire as the spouse of Valentinian III. They also seem to have had another daughter, called Flaccilla. Her death in A.D. 431 is mentioned in the writings of Marcellinus Comes and in Nestorius.[145]

The existence of a son called Arcadius is far less certain, although he has been included in *PLRE* II. Alan Cameron seems to think that he was the result of Eudocia's adultery, which would explain the fact that there are very few sources which mention him.[146] Kenneth Holum does find the evidence for a son convincing enough and I agree with him.[147] There are two places in which the mention of the name Arcadius has been suspected of denoting an otherwise unknown son of Theodosius II and Eudocia. The first is in the dedication on the copy of Proba's *Cento* and the other is in an inscription in the Church of St. John in Ravenna.[148]

On the other hand, there is negative proof which speaks against a son. In his *Chronicle* John of Nikiu (seventh century) discusses the reasons why Theodosius and Eudocia did not have a male offspring.[149]

The Dedication in the *Cento* of Proba

Faltonia Petitia Proba composed her Virgilian cento of the life of Jesus around A.D. 360 and later a calligraphic copy of it was given to an Eastern emperor. It has caused some discussion as to whether it was dedicated to Theodosius I, Arcadius or Theodosius II.[150] The interpretation of the dedication is problematic, as the emperor is not named.

The unnamed dedicant is described as the descendant of Romulus, governing the Eastern realms and being the glory of his brother.

At the end of the dedication, however, a son called the younger Arcadius is mentioned, to whom it is asked the poem be handed down.[151] If Theodosius II is the dedicant, the dedication would prove that Theodosius had a son, Arcadius.[152] But, Theodosius II did not have a brother.

The most likely explanation is given by Kenneth Holum: the dedicant is Arcadius (who had a brother, Honorius) and the younger Arcadius is his (at that time unborn) son to whom the Cento should be given and who should then transmit it to his sons.[153] These centos were meant to be used and they were used as educational material for children.

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145 Marcellinus Comes, *sub annis* 422, 431; *Chronicon Paschale, sub anno* 437; Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis* (transl. Nau (1910), 259).

146 Alan Cameron (1982), 266–267.

147 Holum (1982), 178.

148 Proba, *Cento* (ed. Schenkl (1888), 586; ed. Clark and Hatch (1981), 12–13); *ILS* 818.3 (=*CIL* XI, no. 276).

149 John of Nikiu 87.14–16.

150 Alan Cameron (1982), 266–267; Holum (1982), 178, note 14; Clark and Hatch (1981), 1, 98–99.

151 Proba, *Cento* (ed. Clark and Hatch (1981), 12–13).

152 Those who think the dedicant is Theodosius II, consider this to be proof for a son named Arcadius.

153 Holum (1982), 178, note 14.

The Ravenna Inscription

The church of St. John the Evangelist in Ravenna was built to commemorate the safe deliverance from the storm at sea of the Western empress Galla Placidia and her children Valentinian III and Honoria in the mid 420's. As the dating of the church is crucial for the interpretation of the inscription, we are obliged to reconsider it. The dating of the church varies a great deal: Alan Cameron has dated the inscription and the church after A.D. 439, and Friedrich Deichmann in his history of the city of Ravenna dates the church of St. John around 430.[154]

The mosaic inscription is very simple: *DN Arcadius DN Eudoxia Aug.* The problem is to identify which Arcadius and Eudoxia, the children or the parents of Theodosius II? The inscriptions of this church have survived only in the descriptions made by Agnellus which were collected and studied by Deichmann in his already mentioned excellent and monumental study of Ravenna, on which I base my interpretation.[155]

As the apse is the most sacred area of the church it is likely that we can find the most important information from there and the immediate surroundings. In the apse there were: the dedication of the church to St. John (including the names of Galla Placidia and her children Valentinian Aug. and Honoria Aug.); pictures of Pantocrator above; the seastorm, St. John the Evangelist and biblical inscriptions. On the sidewall, under those inscriptions, there were three groups of pictures, in the middle bishop Chrysologus performing the mass or eucharist and on the sides imperial portraits. In the arch framing these there was a list of dead and divine emperors and some dead male offsprings of these emperors.

Our main interest is the portraits on the sidewall of the apse. On the left side were two portraits and the text *DN Arcadius DN Eudoxia Aug.* and on the right *DN Theodosius DN Eudocia* and portraits. The mosaics seem to have formed a pair.

As the late emperor Arcadius was mentioned in the list of divine emperors, it would be possible that this Arcadius was alive. Eudoxia could be the daughter of Theodosius and therefore this Arcadius would be his son.[156]

The attribute *Augusta* (Aug.) is after the name of Eudoxia only, though Theodosius and Eudocia were also *Augustae*. The young Eudoxia was not Augusta before her marriage, but was conferred that rank in 439.[157] This would also date the church into that year (as Alan Cameron does).

One method of solving this problem (parents or children) is to consider the contextual possibilities for this decoration of the church. The mosaics were composed symmetrically.[158] When there was the ruling imperial couple of the East on one side, one would expect the Western imperial couple on the other. After the marriage of Valentinian and Eudoxia this would have been an ideal place for them. But Valentinian is mentioned

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154 Alan Cameron (1982), 266; Deichmann (1974) II.1, 93–94. Also in *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Arcadius 1, the inscription is dated after A.D. 439.

155 Deichmann (1969–1989), vols. I–II.

156 *CIL* XI, no. 276; Bury (1923), 220, note 3; Barnes (1974), 228; Alan Cameron (1982), 266.

157 The attribute is also missing after the name of Arcadius, and that has been one reason for the identification of Arcadius as the son of Theodosius (the late emperor was of cause *Augustus*). The son would be too young to be *Augustus* when the inscription was made. After the first child (named Eudocia!) this rank was conferred on Eudoxia, see Seeck (1909b) and *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Eudoxia 2.

158 There is an illuminating reconstruction in Deichmann (1974) II.1, figs. 67–68.

only as a son, not as having a family of his own and this is a good reason for dating the inscription earlier than A.D. 437.

If it is correct to date the church before 437, at that time there was not a ruling couple in the West. Galla Placidia Augusta was a widow. The Eudoxia and the Arcadius of the inscription must have been the late Eastern imperial couple. In this way Galla Placidia could demonstrate her close relationship and friendship with the East showing as couples her nephew Theodosius with Eudocia and her brother Arcadius with Eudoxia.[159]

Eudocia could not have produced a son by the time of the Nestorian conflict (around 430), as she was still seen as *a promise* of continuation of the dynasty.[160] A heir would be politically so significant that at least Socrates should have mentioned him. Evidently there was no living male offspring. There might have been purely physiological reasons for Eudocia not bearing more children.[161]

VI. Conclusion

The picture of the legend is in principle quite right. The great power of the Empress Pulcheria is visible in every source. The only relevant source from the fifth century where Pulcheria is not visible is the *Church History* of Socrates. But Socrates wrote his history after Pulcheria's retirement.[162] As her retirement might have been looked upon unfavourably in the eyes of her contemporaries, it was surely better not to mention Pulcheria at all. On the other hand, Socrates tried to praise the emperor as an independent ruler.[163]

Socrates mentions Eudocia in his *Church History* three times. Firstly, when he praises Eudocia's encomium to the emperor, and mentions her baptism and marriage to Theodosius.[164] Secondly, she is mentioned as the mother of Eudoxia,[165] and thirdly, when the Emperor sent her, with her agreement, on a pilgrimage.[166] Eudocia is by no means a central figure in the *Church History* of Socrates.[167] According to Socrates, Eudocia seems to have been involved with things other than ruling the empire.

The other contemporary sources indicate that Eudocia was more involved with the "women's sphere" than governing. Cyril, the patriarch of Alexandria, describes the Empresses in his letter to the Emperor in a way that agrees with the picture of the anecdotes. Pulcheria is the empress who governs, and Eudocia is the one by whom the dynasty is being continued.[168] In the list of those who were bribed for supporting Cyril's

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159 This would be a compliment to the East as Honorius had not accepted the imperial portraits of Eudoxia, see Deichmann (1974) II.1, 122–123. It seems that if the mention of Eudoxia as an *Augusta* is not due to a mistake by the copyist, it might be there because it was evident who Theodosius and Eudocia and Arcadius were, but there were two Eudoxias.

160 *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (transl. Festugière (1982), 72).

161 Holum (1982), 178 suspects that the reason was not physiological, but Theodosius' admiration of monks.

162 Alan Cameron (1982), 265–266.

163 Socrates 7.22.

164 *Id.* 7.21.

165 *Id.* 7.46.

166 *Id.* 7.47.

167 There is an over-estimation of Socrates praising Eudocia and omitting Pulcheria. Socrates did not write an eulogy as Sozomen did to Pulcheria.

168 *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (transl. Festugière (1982), 72).

case no persons close to Eudocia were mentioned but there were persons close to Pulcheria and Theodosius.[169]

In the anecdotes the picture of Eudocia is unflattering. The story about slavery implies that she could be mocked by her sister-in-law. Of course there may have been jealousy between them as Pulcheria might have been very attached to her brother. But there is little evidence about their relationship neither in private nor on the public level. On the other hand, the giving of such powerful relics as gifts as Eudocia did must be seen as a sign of friendship between the Empresses. There was a conflict between the imperial couple and Empress Pulcheria during the Nestorian controversy, but it seems to have calmed down. Pulcheria did not take any revenge on Eudocia when she nearly rebelled in Palestine after the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. Eudocia seems to have started a new active period of life in the Holy Land.

The anecdotes do not ascribe any role in governing to Eudocia: she was inexperienced. This is also the picture which emerges from other sources concerning Eudocia in Constantinople. Although Eudocia had been elevated to the rank of *Augusta,* she did not actively hold political power or have support from her brothers and Cyrus. She held a lesser role, but she was still an Empress. Her support helped her brothers and Cyrus to obtain powerful positions. The theory of Paulinus or Eudocia being the agents of the Traditionalists is unlikely as there does not seem to have been any dramatic changes in the administration after the imperial wedding. The picture of the Court of Constantinople being a battlefield of two politically active Empresses in opposition to each other is not confirmed by the sources. This picture has emerged mainly because of stereotypical prejudgements about two strong women with a weak man.

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169 Jones (1964) I , 346.

Arja Karivieri

The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens[1]

One of the most impressive buildings to be built by the Emperor Hadrian in Athens is the so-called Library of Hadrian to the north of the Roman Agora. (Figs. 1–4) The building has been regularly identified as the Library of Hadrian because of the passage in Pausanias where the author mentions a large building with one hundred columns of Phrygian marble and space to preserve books.[2] This general opinion is also upheld by Homer A. Thompson,[3] who states that: "The identification of this building, the Library of Hadrian, is now securely established (...) The Library was... the last fine building to be erected in Athens in Classical antiquity and the most splendid of all ancient libraries known to us."

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1 I would like to thank Professors Paavo Castrén, Jaakko Frösén and Gunnar af Hällström, Mr. Erkki Sironen and Ms. Tua Korhonen, who read drafts of this paper and greatly improved its presentation. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Julia Burman for many useful suggestions. I am indebted to Dr. Judith Binder for remarks on a draft of this paper. I have also benefited from a conversation with Professor Paul Zanker in 1991 during his visit in Finland. Finally, I wish to thank John Calton for reading my manuscript and correcting my English. The errors which remain are, of course, my own.

2 Pausanias I.18.9 (ed. Spiro (1903)).

3 Thompson (1981), 15. Most recently, in his publication of Hadrian's Panhellenic programme, Willers has followed the traditional interpretation and identified the Hadrianic complex as a library and a *museion* (Willers (1990), 14–21).

But is the function of this building[4] so utterly beyond dispute? I should like to resurrect the issue of the purpose of the 'Library of Hadrian' and ask: "What other functions did this building have? What relation did the Early Christian tetraconch, built in the middle of the complex, have to the Hadrianic building?"

Wolfram Martini threw doubt on the traditional opinion of the function of the architectural units in the Hadrianic construction at Athens by drawing attention to the fact that all the libraries we know nowadays were placed in the secondary rooms of the building complexes, the Library of Celsus at Ephesus being the only exception.[5] If the library was situated in the secondary rooms of the building as Martini argues, what was the role of the large central hall of the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens?

I. Interpreting Pausanias' Text and the Different Identifications Given to the Building

The problem of identifying the central hall of the 'Library of Hadrian' as a library or as a construction with some other function arises from the interpretation of Pausanias' text (I.18.9). The text has been variously interpreted and these different translations have elicited various theories about the identification of the complex:

> Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατόν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου· πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὀρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.[6]

T. Leslie Shear Jr. compares the 'Library of Hadrian' with the Forum Pacis at Rome,[7] suggesting that the central position in the design of the Athenian building was occupied by the library. He uses the following translation to support his argument:

> "But most splendid of all are one hundred columns: walls and colonnades alike are made of Phrygian marble. Here, too, is a building adorned with a gilded roof and alabaster, and also with statues and paintings: books are stored in it."

Peter Levi's[8] interpretation gives a slightly different picture:

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4 Select bibliography: Sisson (1929); Travlos (1950); Frantz (1966); Knithakes and Symboulidou (1969); Kokkou (1970), 162–165; Travlos (1971), 244–252, 579; De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 171–188; Makowiecka (1978), 67–74; Thompson (1981), 14–16; Shear (1981), 356–377, esp. 374–377; Boatwright (1983); Martini (1985), 188–191, pl. XXII; Spawforth and Walker (1985), 96, 98; Kleinbauer (1987), 285–286; Willers (1990), esp. 14–25.

5 Martini (1985), 189–190. However, Willers considered Martini's argument invalid, because Martini is referring to Hellenistic Greek libraries, and the Library of Hadrian would represent Roman libraries (Willers (1990), 17).

6 Ed. Spiro (1903), 46.

7 Shear (1981), 375–376.

8 Pausanias 53 (transl. Levi (1988)).

> "Hadrian built other things in Athens, a shrine of Panhellenic Zeus and Hera, and a temple of all the gods: but his most famous things are the hundred columns of Phrygian marble, with walls built just like the columns, and pavilions with gilded roofwork and alabaster, decorated with statues and paintings. Books are kept in them."

Daria De Bernardi Ferrero, who identified the 'Library of Hadrian' as the Hadrianic temple of all the gods, used the following interpretation for her new identification of the building complex:

> "...Adriano procurò agli Ateniesi anche altri edifici... ed un santuario comune a tutti gli dei, in cui la cosa più sorprendente sono cento colonne di marmo frigio, del quale son fatti anche i muri dei portici; e vi sono ambienti col soffitto dorato, ricoperti di alabastro e di più ornati di simulacri e pitture, in cui sono conservati libri..."[9]

First of all, if we look at Levi's interpretation, we notice how he speaks about pavilions *(in the plural)* where books were preserved, according to the original text. This could already throw new light on the traditional opinion which has it that the central hall served as the main store-room of Hadrian's library. Secondly, Levi uses a colon to differentiate the complex sentence beginning with "but" from the expression "a temple of all the gods". The most evident combination of the Sanctuary of all the gods and the complex sentence describing the library and artistic decoration of the Hadrianic building comes from the translation used by De Bernardi Ferrero: "un santuario comune a tutti gli dei, *in cui*...". We might even note the special construction the translator had used. There are two comparable complex sentences, the first beginning with "ed un santuario comune a tutti gli dei...", the second beginning with "e vi sono ambienti...", and both include a specified account beginning with "in cui...". That is, the Sanctuary of all the gods is combined with the description of the 100 columns and the walls of the building, and, on the other hand, the description of statues, paintings, gilded roofwork and alabaster is combined with the rooms where the books were kept. However, Jaakko Frösén[10] has pointed out that the second δέ in Pausanias' text (I.18.9) makes it impossible to connect the Sanctuary common to all the gods with the description of the building embellished with 100 columns. This means that the temple of all the gods in Pausanias' text, contrary to De Bernardi Ferrero's interpretation, would not be the same building which includes 100 columns, that is to say the Hadrianic building identified as the 'Library of Hadrian'.

It has been suggested that a large Hadrianic building located to the east of the 'Library of Hadrian' and the Roman Agora, which was partly excavated in the 1960's,[11] could have been the 'Pantheon', the Sanctuary of all the gods mentioned by Pausanias.[12] In their recent criticism of this interpretation A. J. Spawforth and Susan Walker[13] state that the excavated remains of the building do not justify its identification as a temple; they prefer to identify this building as a basilica, the meeting-place of the *Panhellenion,* where

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9 De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 172.

10 I am indebted to Professor Frösén for his explanation of this passage.

11 Dontas (1968); *id.* (1969a); *id.* (1969b); Kokkou (1970), 159–161; Travlos (1971), 439–443; Shear (1981), 375; Boatwright (1983), 175–176.

12 Compare figs. 2 a and 3, the 'Hadrianic Building' to the east of the 'Library of Hadrian' and the Roman Agora.

13 Spawforth and Walker (1985), 97–98.

Hadrian Panhellenius was honoured along with Zeus Panhellenius and Hera Panhellenia. Spawforth and Walker however suggest that the Sanctuary of the Panhellenion was located to the south of the Olympieion,[14] where a small temple surrounded by a peristyle court was partly excavated in the 1960's by John Travlos,[15] who identified this temple as the Sanctuary of Panhellenion.[16] The large Hadrianic building, the 'Pantheon', reconstructed as a three-aisled podium temple, could, according to Dietrich Willers, be a temple, but he suggests that the other possibilities would be a large basilica (as Spawforth and Walker proposed) or a stoa with strengthened side wings.[17] Unlike Spawforth and Walker, Willers sees no evidence for a separate meeting-place of the *Panhellenes,* because Pausanias mentioned only the temple of Zeus Panhellenius in his text. Therefore, he prefers to locate the centre of the Panhellenion in the Ilissus area by the Olympieion.[18]

Recently, even Wolfram Martini has argued that the 'Library of Hadrian' is the Sanctuary of all the gods mentioned by Pausanias.[19] He noticed though that J. G. Frazer and E. Meyer had translated the first δέ (I.18.9) as "but" and separated the description of the building from the Sanctuary common to all the gods.[20] Martini reminds us of Pausanias' text (I.5.5)[21] which demonstrates the functional relationship between the Forum Pacis and the Sanctuary of all the gods at Athens:

> "All the sanctuaries of the gods he himself [that is Hadrian] has built, and the ones he has improved with furnishings and dedications, and all his gifts to Greek cities, and when they asked him, to barbarian cities as well, have been inscribed at Athens in the common sanctuary of all the gods."[22]

Martini identified the 'Library of Hadrian' as the Sanctuary of all the gods seen by Pausanias by comparing the architectural elements of the complex especially with the Forum Pacis, and other Imperial Fora at Rome, the Gymnasia at Ephesus and the Building M at Side.

The Polish scholar E. Makowiecka, who has studied the architectural evolution of the Roman library, suggested that the great central chamber in the 'Library of Hadrian' served as a store-room and a reading-room. She pointed out that in the library at Asklepieion at Pergamum and in the Celsus Library at Ephesus the library was surrounded by a narrow corridor serving as isolation from the humidity.[23] She uses this as an argument in favour of the identification of the central hall of the Forum Pacis at Rome as a library, since the central unit had a double wall on both sides of the hall. But it seems to have escaped her notice that the same argumentation could be used for the

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14 *Id.*, 94.

15 Travlos (1971), 429–431.

16 Compare also Kokkou (1970), 157–159.

17 Willers (1990), 22–23.

18 *Id.*, 24–25, 54–67.

19 Martini (1985), 188–191, pl. XXII.

20 Ed. Frazer (1898), 26; ed. Meyer (1954), 70; Martini (1985), 190. However, in the next sentence Martini accepts the opinion of his colleague, E.-R. Schwinge, that the building description cannot be combined with the Pantheon.

21 Pausanias I.5.5 (ed. Spiro (1903), 13):
ὁπόσα δὲ θεῶν ἱερὰ τὰ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἢ δωρεὰς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν Ἕλλησι, τὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς δεηθεῖσιν, ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ.

22 Pausanias 23 (transl. Levi (1988)); Martini (1985), 190.

23 Makowiecka (1978), 48–49, 64–65.

flanking units of this hall, too, because the corridor 'protected' those in the same way. In other words, she forgets this argument when she discusses 'Hadrian's Library'[24] and locates the library in the central hall there; the central hall in the Hadrianic complex at Athens did not have any isolation from the humidity. De Bernardi Ferrero argued[25] that the rooms opening through columns to the courtyard could not have been used as libraries because of the preservation of the book archives. She suggested that the books would have been stored in the lateral rooms to the eastern side of the 'Library of Hadrian' because these rooms could be closed.[26]

If De Bernardi Ferrero is right in her argument that the rooms flanking the central hall would have been used for the library or for the archives, the book archives in the 'Library of Hadrian' could have been located in the large enclosed end rooms[27] and in the small rooms against the eastern wall, and the square rooms adjoining the central hall might have been reading-rooms (fig. 4 a). But if the library and archives had a secondary role in the 'Library of Hadrian', what then was the role of the central hall, if not the Sanctuary of all the gods as Martini and De Bernardi Ferrero had suggested?

II. The 'Library of Hadrian' as an Imperial Forum?

Recently T. Leslie Shear Jr. has argued that the Emperor Hadrian founded the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens as an imperial forum, furnished with gardens and a longitudinal water-pool in the middle of the great public square which was embellished with statues and other works of art. The eastern end of the building had a suite of rooms which, according to Leslie Shear Jr., included lecture halls and a library in the central position.[28] The model for Hadrian's cultural centre at Athens, would have been the Templum Pacis of the Emperor Vespasian at Rome.[29]

Other arguments in support of this interpretation might be adduced by considering the proposition made by Helmut Kyrieleis:[30] he outlined six requirements for the Imperial Fora at Rome.[31] Firstly, they were situated in a densely-built area, but the constructions were closed from the outer world by high walls and the centre of the building was surrounded by peristyle halls. Secondly, the porticoes formed an important part of these constructions. Thirdly, the Imperial Fora were not used as market-places and no through traffic was allowed. Fourthly, the Fora of Caesar and Augustus at Rome were important for the administrative life of Rome. Fifthly, literary activities had an important role in the

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24 *Id.*, 67–69.

25 De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 173–175.

26 Compare with fig. 4 a.

27 The 'auditorium' found in the north-eastern room and its possible counterpart in the south-eastern room may either belong to the original construction or could have been built first in connection with some later renovation. Sisson could have been right when he suggested that in view of their inferior quality the foundation walls for the cavea may have been built later than the original structure (Sisson (1929), 62; Martini (1985), 191, note 20). Most recently, Willers, following the latest results of the documentation of the north-eastern auditorium (Knithakes and Symboulidou (1969)), combined these auditoria with the original structure (Willers (1990)).

28 Shear (1981), 374–377.

29 *Id.*, 374–376. Willers, on the contrary, did not consider the typological similarity of the Templum Pacis and the 'Library of Hadrian' an important enough proof to allow the comparison of the two structures or their functions (Willers (1990), 17–18).

30 Kyrieleis (1976), 431–438.

31 *Id.*, 433–434 (with the exception of the Forum Transitorium).

function of the Imperial Fora. And finally, the decoration of the building had a propagandist function with works of art from different parts of the Empire; an imperial forum was 'a political museum of art'. Kyrieleis points out that the libraries and the works of art had an important role in the Imperial Fora, which served as temene for political representation, and later even for administrative and literary purposes.[32]

The 'Library of Hadrian' fulfils all but one (the fourth[33]) of Kyrieleis' requirements. It is closed off from the surroundings, situated in the centre of Athens near the Ancient Agora and the Roman Agora (figs. 1–2). The main entrance in the west led to the large open courtyard surrounded by porticoes (fig. 4 a). The Hadrianic complex was not used as a market-place and the only entrance to the complex was originally in the west. A large library was situated at the eastern end of the building which was decorated with gilded roofwork, alabaster, statues and paintings. In other words, if we use the requirements listed by Kyrieleis as criteria, the 'Library of Hadrian' could be counted in amongst the imperial fora. The way Pausanias pictures the complex would suit the description of a forum where a library had an important role. A forum was such a natural part of a Roman town that perhaps Pausanias did not consider it necessary to give the building a specific name.

It seems quite possible that Hadrian wanted to build an imperial forum at Athens, in the cultural centre of the Eastern Mediterranean. When the Emperor Hadrian had become an honorary citizen of Athens and Athens acquired the role of the second capital of the Roman Empire,[34] Hadrian wanted to embellish the city and could have emphasised its role as the centre of philhellenes by building a new imperial forum. This forum may have been destined to be the cultural centre of the city with its library *'miri operis'*,[35] and it could have included a 'Hall of Honour' for the Emperor.

And it is even more natural that Hadrian would have built this forum on the same axis and on the same scale as the Market of Caesar and Augustus, the Roman Agora (figs. 1–2). Similarly, the Imperial Fora at Rome were built on axial symmetry.[36] Hadrian's architects used the Imperial Fora at Rome, especially the Forum Pacis, with their monumental porticoes and centred sanctuaries as a model for this building. One important western comparison is the so-called Trajaneum of Italica, a large porticoed enclosure with a central temple in Hadrian's home town in Spain. On the other hand, the exedra/palaestra units of imperial bathing complexes and other buildings of the courtyard type in Asia Minor served as a model for the new Hadrianic forum which, in its turn, could have been a model for later constructions. The nearest parallels in Asia Minor are the so-called Building M at Side, the Marble Court-palaestra group in Sardis and the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius at Ephesus, all three somewhat later than the Athenian building.[37]

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32 *Id.*, 436.

33 We do not have any evidence for the administrative role of the building. However, official records could have formed a part of the archives of the Hadrianic complex, if the inscription found on the pavement of a nearby church would attest the removal of the official abstracts to Thessalonica after the edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus in A.D. 305 as Sisson suggested (*IG* II/III^2, no. 1121; Sisson (1929), 66).

34 Compare Oliver (1981), 419.

35 Jerome: *"Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas aedes Athenis fecisset, agonem edidit bibliothecamque miri operis extruxit."* Jerome, *Chronicon CCXXVII. Olymp.*, XVI (ed. Helm (1956)); Aristides, *Oratio* I.354 (ed. Lenz and Behr (1976), 125; transl. Behr (1986), 71); Sisson (1929), 64.

36 See von Blanckenhagen (1954).

37 Willers pointed out that the Athenian building represents the tradition of the work-shops of Asia Minor: the acanthus decoration has direct parallels in the Library of Celsus at Ephesus and in the Trajaneum at Pergamum (Willers (1990), 20, note 74).

The *Principia* in Novae,[38] the Religious and Political Centre of *Legio I Italica*

A good comparison for the architectural setting and function of the 'Forum of Hadrian' at Athens is provided by the *Principia* of Novae (Nova Italica) in Moesia inferior. The large *Principia*[39] (103 x 59 m.) in the centre of the fortress *Legio I Italica,* which originally dates back to the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96), consisted of a courtyard with a transverse hall and a suite of official rooms at the southern end of the building. The porticoed court was separated from the 16 metre broad transverse hall by a monumental arch. Along the short sides of the transverse hall were *tribunalia*. The suite of rooms behind the transverse hall had a monumental façade decorated with six to eight pilasters. Opposite the main entrance to the *Principia* from the crossroads of *via principalis* and *via praetoria,* in the centre of the official rooms was situated the main sanctuary of the fortress *(aedes principiorum)* with two small treasuries *(aeraria).*[40]

The sanctuary in the central hall of the Novaean building was built slightly higher than the courtyard and was entered from the transverse hall by four steps. The area in front of the entrance to the sanctuary was paved with limestone slabs beside which bases for statues and altars were found. In front of the sanctuary entrance was a hollow filled with ash and some bone remains from ritual banquets. At the rear of the *aedes* were bases for standards and others for small altars and statues, as for a half-lifesized cuirassed statue of Caracalla. The statue of Caracalla belonged to a collection of statues representing deified emperors, and fragments of an inscription, a dedication to an emperor from the late second to early third century A.D., were found in the same hall.[41]

The *Principia* of Novae was destroyed during the fourth century, an event which has been linked to the rivalry between Constantine and Licinius. Owing to the sudden nature of the destruction, hundreds of fragments of bronze items belonging to the decoration of the building were found in the treasuries and other rooms of the *Principia*.[42] Most bronze pieces come from destroyed imperial statues, such as cuirassed and equestrian statues. Some fragments belong to representations of gods and goddesses. Many of these statues could be identified with the help of inscriptions and the decorative style of the bases. At least five imperial statues from the *Principia* have been identified: Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Caracalla, Geta and Severus Alexander. The inscriptions gave evidence for six statues of deities: Jupiter, Mars,[43] Victoria, Genius of the Legion, the Roman Wolf and Bonus Eventus. The altars inside the building would add to this list Urbs Roma,[44] Liber Pater and Luna. The statues of the deities can be dated between A.D. 184 and 227.

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38 Novae was the easternmost Roman legionary fortress from the Claudian period until the beginning of the second century A.D. After Trajan had captured Dacia, Novae was still an important strategic point on the Danube. The site was originally occupied by the *Legio VIII Augusta* which was overtaken by *Legio I Italica* in *ca.* A.D. 70. The area occupied by the old fortress, Canabae, got the name Canabae Novae, since the old settlement Canabae Veteres was destroyed. The city was later even called Nova Italica as the home town of Maximinus Thrax. (Press and Sarnowski (1990), 225, figs. 1–5.)

39 Press and Sarnowski (1990), 228 and 230–235, figs. 4, 5, 8 and 9.

40 *Id.*, 230–231, figs. 8–10, 13.

41 *Id.*, 231–234, figs. 8, 9, 14 and 15.

42 *Id.*, 234–235, figs. 10–13, 16 and 17.

43 *Id.*, fig. 18 (a statue base for Mars Victor).

44 *Id.*, fig. 32 (an altar base for Urbs Roma).

Most of the statues and altars were dedications made by representatives of the highest rank of the legion *(primipili)*.[45]

The archaeological material from the *Principia* of Novae evidences the active use of the central hall as a sanctuary for the veneration of the emperors and other gods, especially during the late second to early third century A.D. On the other hand, as compared with the Novaean building, at least two bases of statues for the Emperor Hadrian[46] and four altars dedicated to Hadrian[47] have been found within the precincts of the 'Library of Hadrian', which might attach weight to my supposition that the Emperor was honoured in the Hadrianic Forum at Athens.

As in the 'Library of Hadrian', in Novae the suite of rooms opposite the main entrance had a monumental façade. The importance of the *aedes* in Novae was further emphasised by a monumental arch in front of the entrance to the sacred hall. The other rooms flanking the central sanctuary served the political and administrative life of *Legio I Italica* . Some of the rooms flanking the central hall of the Hadrianic complex at Athens had probably the same function; the Hadrianic Forum could have served political, administrative and literary purposes. The architectural setting of the *Principia* in Novae resembles the Athenian building even in its overall solution: anyone entering the building had to walk through a porticoed courtyard to visit the suite of rooms and the monumental central hall opposite the main entrance.

The Imperial Forum or the 'Trajaneum' of Italica

That the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens was an imperial forum could be attested by means of another comparison, the forum or the so-called Trajaneum of Italica in Spain,[48] which was discovered during the excavation campaign of 1980 in Italica, the home town of the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian.[49] The remains of the building are fragmentary, but even so they provide evidence of the splendour of this construction.

The monumental building was situated in the centre of Italica adjacent to the *Cardo Maximus*, the *Decumanus Maximus* and the *Decumanus II*, with the main façade extending along the *Cardo Maximus*. The lengths of the longer and shorter flanks were 107.6 metres and 80.1 m. respectively.[50] The main entrance of the construction at the crossroads of the *Decumanus III* and the *Cardo Maximus* was emphasised by a monumental stairway in the eastern flank. The façade of the main entrance measured 31.1 by 6.8 metres and the staircases of the shorter sides provided access to the central courtyard of the large enclosure.[51]

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45 *Id.*, 235.

46 For the statue bases, see *IG* II/III^2, no. 3288 and *CIL* III, no. 7283 (a dedication from Antioch, Pisidia); Benjamin (1963), nos. 6 and 46; Willers (1990), 50–51.

47 For the altars, see Benjamin (1963); Willers (1990), 66, note 349.

48 I am grateful to Professor Paul Zanker for drawing my attention to this important comparison.

49 León Alonso (1982). The construction has traditionally been identified as a forum, but Pilar León Alonso has suggested an identification as a Trajaneum for the building and reconstructed the building as an enclosure with a central temple which Hadrian dedicated to the Imperial Cult of Trajan (León Alonso and Rodríguez Oliva (1993), 42–43, figs. on pages 39 (plan) and 40 (air-view)). Unfortunately, I was not able to consult the 1988 publication of León Alonso which presents the results of the later excavations on the site and gives a more thorough description of the archaeological remains (León Alonso (1988)).

50 The 'Library of Hadrian' was 122 x 82 m.

51 León Alonso (1982), 105–107, 111.

The construction was based on double walls which surrounded an open courtyard. Columns were placed on the inner basement wall thus creating a porticoed gallery with columns looking onto the courtyard and pilasters against the outer walls of the building. The space between the pilasters was probably decorated with marble panels, since fragments of decorated panels were found during the excavations. Water channels were situated adjacent to the inner walls, that is, along the *peristasis*.[52] Three outer walls of the porticoed enclosure had three exedrae each, two of which were semicircular and one rectangular in the middle, with the exception of the rectangular exedra of the southern flank that was replaced by a large basement of *opus caementicium* which is possibly a podium for an aedicula, a base for a large statue or a nucleus for an altar as J. M. Luzón suggested.[53]

A special detail in the construction of Italica was a hydraulic infrastructure.[54] The exact nature of the hydraulic construction could not be revealed during the campaign of 1980, but it seems reasonable to suppose that it could be combined with a garden or water pools in the courtyard. The building technique is typical of Hadrianic architecture in Italica as represented in the amphitheatre and in the baths: *opus caementicium* and *opus latericium* as well as bricks with their characteristic dimensions. Both white and coloured marble, especially *cipollino*,[55] were used as building material in this construction. The architectural decoration represents typical features of Hadrianic architecture with Corinthian capitals.[56]

The director of the research, Pilar León Alonso dates the construction as a representative of Trajanic and Hadrianic architecture belonging to the first half of the second century A.D. The building has definitely been influenced by the Hellenistic style and León Alonso gives as comparisons the Forum of Trajan at Rome, Villa Adriana in Tivoli, the Library of Hadrian at Athens and the Templum Pacis at Rome. Of all these, however, she considers the most important comparison to be with the Forum of Trajan at Rome planned by Apollodorus of Damascus with its combination of exedrae.[57] In support of León Alonso's arguments it should be added that the combination of two semicircular and one rectangular exedra in the middle bears direct comparison with the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens (compare with fig. 4 a) and another similar architectural setting was used in the *Porticus Liviae*[58] at Rome.

Two inscriptions (which may shed more light on the function of the monumental construction in Italica) were found during the excavations of the *Cardo Maximus* in front of the building. The first one is a dedication to the Genius of Italica made by a priest of the Imperial Cult of Trajan. The other one, also from the second century A.D., is a dedication to the goddess Victoria Augusta.[59]

A. Canto suggested that the second inscription is proof of the existence of a temple within the porticoed enclosure, possibly in the centre of the courtyard which went unexcavated in 1980. The sanctuary would have been dedicated to Victoria Augusta, who

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52 *Id.*, 114.

53 *Id.*, 102, 115–116, 132.

54 *Id.*, 112.

55 *Cipollino* was also used in the 'Library of Hadrian', for example in the shafts and pedestals of the columns decorating the main façade of the building (the columns still standing to the north of the entrance). Compare Sisson (1929), 54, 57.

56 León Alonso (1982), 112–114.

57 *Id.*, 112, 114–115.

58 For the *Porticus Liviae*, see for example Sjöqvist (1954), 103 (fig. 8), 107.

59 León Alonso (1982), 116–118.

is mentioned in another inscription from Italica, now displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Sevilla. Canto is inclined to connect this temple with the celebration of Victoria Dacica and further, to the embellishment of Italica initiated by Trajan, thus dating the monumental complex to the period of Trajan.[60] I would like to add to his argument that the first inscription from the *Cardo Maximus* is a dedication to the Genius of Italica by a priest of the Imperial Cult of Trajan. On the basis of the evidence of these two inscriptions it seems likely that two cults were celebrated there: the cult of Victoria Augusta and the Imperial Cult.

In other words, the so-called Trajaneum in Italica, which resembles the Hadrianic Forum at Athens in several architectural details, was probably dedicated to the Imperial Cult. The celebration of Victoria Augusta in Italica could have had a counterpart at Athens: a colossal statue of Augustan vintage representing Nike on a sphere was found in 1988[61] at the western end of the Hadrianic building, built into a Byzantine wall. This statue could originally have decorated the Roman Agora,[62] and was later perhaps transferred from its original location to the Hadrianic building.

The architectural and functional similarities of these two buildings may not be a mere coincidence. We could shed some further light on their function by going into some Eastern comparisons more thoroughly, given that the architecture of the 'Trajaneum' of Italica and the 'Library of Hadrian' clearly show Hellenistic influence. Another important reason may be adduced from the interest which Trajan and Hadrian, the emperors from Italica, showed towards the Eastern Mediterranean art and architecture.

III. The Palaestra/*Porticus* Combined with the Imperial Cult

The 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens represents a special architectural construction with a peristyle arrangement, a large rectangular enclosure with porticoes. The courtyard type of building, the palaestra, usually formed one part of a gymnasium and the palaestra's sides included exercise rooms and school rooms. Such porticoes even belonged to the Hellenistic ruler cult sanctuary, which Caesar adopted in the Kaisareia at Alexandria and Antioch and which the Julio-Claudian emperors were to develop further.[63] To gain a better understanding of this association, the palaestra/*porticus* combined with the Imperial Cult, we can consider other examples of this kind of building construction in the Roman Empire.

In the first place, W. E. Kleinbauer has suggested that the palaestra at Perge could have created a context for the presentation of the Imperial Cult.[64] According to Fikret K. Yegül the palaestra at Perge was built as a private Claudianum because an inscription records a dedication to the Emperor Claudius by C. Iulius Cornutus and his wife and freedman.[65] This provides the first association of a palaestra with the Imperial Cult.

Arif Müfit Mansel identified the so-called Building M at Side, near Perge, as a State Agora and the central hall on the north-east side of Building M as a *Kaisersaal* or

60 *Id.*, 132.
61 *Eleftherotypia* 15.10. 1988; Catling (1989), 10.
62 I am grateful to Dr. Judith Binder for pointing out this possibility to me.
63 Hanson (1959), 54.
64 Kleinbauer (1987), 278–279.
65 *IGRR* III, no. 789; Yegül (1982), 19, note 63.

Imperator Salonu dedicated to the Imperial Cult.[66] This Antonine complex, the Building M at Side, featuring a large rectangular enclosure with a suite of three halls at the eastern end of the building, provides a good comparison for the 'Forum of Hadrian' at Athens. The large central chamber of Building M opens through a row of Corinthian columns to the eastern colonnade of the building. The flanking units of the central hall may have been libraries. The central unit resembles the exedra/palaestra units of contemporary bath-gymnasium complexes, especially with the architecture of the central hall with its aedicular façades on two storeys, above a podium.[67] Inside the first-storey niches of the back walls of this chamber there stood larger than lifesized statues of deities, *inter alia* Ares, Heracles, Apollo, Hermes, Persephone, Asclepius, Hygieia, Nike and Nemesis. Inside the second-storey niches smaller scale figures were visible, copies of famous works of art from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Cornelius C. Vermeule believes that a part of the statues represented members of the Imperial House as divinities, the imperial figure in the cuirassed statue in the central niche being Lucius Verus. Vermeule dated the sculptural decoration and the Building M to the Antonine period.[68]

Most recently Dietrich Willers,[69] following the argumentation of Elzbieta Makowiecka, wished to recognise a library hall in the central hall of the Building M, thus using it as the basis for claiming that the central hall of the Hadrianic complex at Athens is a library hall. Makowiecka[70] interpreted the niches in the Building M as niches for bookshelves. However, she admitted that the niches are arched at the top, which is unusual, and that the niches in the central hall are too deep to serve as bookcases. Even though she interprets the central hall as a library she concedes that "the majority of niches had to be used for statues not for books". Her interpretation gives the specifications *'museion'* and 'exedra-auditorium' for the central hall of the Building M; the library proper would have been situated in the two adjacent halls. The *'museion'*, according to Makowiecka, would have been a kind of art gallery, where the statues represented objects of art. It is possible that she is right, but the analogous structures of Asia Minor from the same period suggest that central halls of this kind would have been dedicated to the Imperial Cult.

Daria De Bernardi Ferrero evidenced the relation between the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens and the Building M at Side with several analogies. For example, both present an impressive pronaos with columns in front of the central hall and this is surmounted by a tympanum to underline the cultic destination of the complex. At Side as well as at Athens the flanking units of the central hall opened onto the peristyle through columns.[71]

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66 Mansel (1963), 109–121; Mansel (1978), 169–86, figs. 184–204.

67 Yegül (1982), 19, note 63.

68 Vermeule (1977), 91–93; 99, note 8. The other identification usually given to the cuirassed statue is Antoninus Pius. Vermeule believes that the Building M was constructed in honour of Lucius Verus, when he spent some time at Side on his way to or from the Parthian War, *ca.* A.D. 165 (Vermeule (1977), 92). Proof of this visit is in the form of a coin (Nollé (1990), fig. 13, no. 67) which represents the god Apollo between the Emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius. While Apollo reaches his hand to cuirassed Lucius Verus, who carries a sword, togaed Marcus Aurelius stands separately on the right side of the composition. This coin representation, where Lucius Verus is equipped for the Parthian War, is commemorative of the emperor's visit at Side. (Nollé (1990), 252, 256.)

69 Willers (1990), 17.

70 Makowiecka (1978), 69–73.

71 De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 174.

The formal layout of the Building M at Side and the Forum Pacis at Rome, as well as the Hadrianic Forum at Athens,[72] could be compared with the Marble Court-palaestra group in Sardis. The Roman Bath-Gymnasium complex in Sardis includes a large courtyard surrounded by colonnades in the east and a bathing complex in the western half of the building. A large central hall, the "Marble Court" with its façade architecture of alternating aediculae on two storeys and a double-storeyed central group with a pediment broken by an arch, opens through a row of columns onto the western end of the great courtyard, the palaestra.[73] According to Fikret K. Yegül, the Forum Pacis and the Marble Court-palaestra group in Sardis, even the Building M in Side, represent "peristyle arrangements in which one side is emphasized by a centrally located, prominent rectangular hall flanked by identical, square units. In both, the central hall opens into the large peristyle courtyard through a colonnaded front and contains an apse for the cult image terminating the main axis of the composition."[74]

It seems evident that even the 'Library of Hadrian' could be numbered among the group. Unfortunately, the exact architectural setting of the Pergaean palaestra has not been preserved, so we are not able to show its possible architectural connection with the other buildings under discussion.

There are several examples of rectangular halls in Asia Minor with a façade architecture of alternating aediculae on two storeys, incorporated into the imperial bathing complexes, three of them in Ephesus. This architectural type was well established in Asia Minor by the second century A.D.[75] It seems reasonable to suppose therefore that in particular the marble hall of Sardis with the 100 columns of the courtyard and the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius in Ephesus (fig. 5) with the suite of rooms on the western side of the great palaestra could be compared with the 'Library of Hadrian'.

These constructions in Asia Minor give some evidence for the association with the Imperial Cult. The first storey of the Marble Court in Sardis carries an inscription which dedicates the building to Caracalla and Geta together with their mother Julia Domna as well as to the Roman Senate and the people. An altar to Hadrian was found in the Middle Gymnasium at Pergamum, but the architectural context is unclear. There is epigraphical evidence from the same building which could be connected with the Imperial Cult: an inscription with a dedication to *theoi sebastoi* Augustus and Livia along with Heracles and Hermes in the exedra of the gymnasium and an architrave inscription in another hall honouring the god-emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[76] In the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius (fig. 5) at Ephesus an imperial altar and a statue of the donor Publius Vedius Antoninus were found inside the marble hall (figs. 6–8):[77] the altar in front of the central apse and the statue inside the apse. According to the Austrian

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72 De Bernardi Ferrero, following Crema (1959), 367, was convinced that the 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens, with its similar arrangements and having the Forum Pacis as a model, could be counted in the same series with the Building M. (De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 174.)

73 Yegül (1982), 7, 20.

74 *Id.*, 19, note 67.

75 *Id.*, 7–8.

76 For the inscription in the Marble-Court, see Hanfmann (1961), 40–43; *id.* (1962), 46–48; *id.* (1963), 37–38; *id.* (1964), 25–30; *id.* (1965), 21–27; Yegül (1982), 10–11. For the altar of Hadrian, see Hepding (1907), 309, no. 29; Yegül (1982), 12. For the dedication to Augustus and Livia, see *IGRR* IV, no. 318; Schazmann (1923), 37–38; Yegül (1982), 12. For the dedication to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, see Fränkel (1895), no. 553; Schazmann (1923), 12, 56–58; Yegül (1982), 12.

77 I wish to thank Dr. Maria Aurenhammer for providing me with the photographs of the *Kaisersaal* of the Gymnasium of Vedius and of the altar there.

excavators, a statue of Antoninus Pius would originally have been situated inside the apse and they gave for the first time the name *Kaisersaal* to this kind of great representative hall.[78] Among the other statues found in the *Kaisersaal* of the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius were Androclus, Hygieia, Asclepius, the so-called Vesta Giustiniani and the so-called Aspasia.[79] (Fig. 9) There were even statues of such figures as Discobolus and an athlete, which undermines the argument Elzbieta Makowiecka[80] used to attest that the central hall of the Building M at Side is a library. She believed that statues of heroes could not be represented together with sculptures of deities and the emperor in a centre of the Imperial Cult. However, the sculptural decoration of the *Kaisersaal* in the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius as well as the statues found in the central hall of Building M at Side show explicitly that statues of athletes and heroes and copies of famous classical originals could be used for the decoration of the *Kaisersäle*.

The central apse of the *Kaisersaal* was the proper place for the statue of the emperor emphasising his position in the centre of this space and, at the same time, in the centre of the Roman world.[81] A special architectural setting was created for the purposes of imperial propaganda; Fikret Yegül suggests that the architectural imagery invested in the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theatre could have been adopted for the decoration of the *Kaisersaal* with a comparable ideological content associating Dionysus and the Roman emperor as the New Dionysus.[82] The same architectural setting, a façade architecture of alternating aediculae in two storeys, was later used in the central hall of the Hadrianic Forum at Athens. The connection of some of the Roman emperors with the cult of Dionysus is securely established; the third-century emperors made particular use of this association. In Side, Hadrian himself started Imperial mysteries, *Agon Mystikos,* that were celebrated in honour of Dionysus, Demeter and the Emperor.[83] In Ephesus, Hadrian was identified with Dionysus in cult performances.[84] Besides, the association of the Imperial Cult and the cult of Dionysus could be seen in two buildings in Asia Minor: the Dionysiac theme played an important role in the decoration of the *Kaisersäle* of the Vedius Bath-Gymnasium in Ephesus and the Marble Court in Sardis.[85]

Fikret K. Yegül points out that the *Kaisersaal* was not the official seat of the cult as a *neokorate* temple, but a kind of "Hall of Honour" for the emperor and the imperial family where the cult ritual could be conducted at a popular and private level.[86] This seems to have been the situation in Athens where the Imperial Cult of Hadrian was concentrated upon the Temple of Olympian Zeus,[87] if we presume that the central hall of the Hadrianic Forum was a *Kaisersaal* dedicated to the Imperial Cult and the lateral rooms of the eastern end of the building housed a library and archives. The large monumental central hall of the 'Forum of Hadrian' was the centre of the whole complex, probably a sanctuary where

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78 Keil (1929), 34 f.; Yegül (1982), 12–13.

79 For the reconstruction, see Manderscheid (1981), 44–45, fig. 15.

80 Makowiecka (1978), 71–72.

81 Yegül (1982), 20–21.

82 *Id.*, 26–27.

83 Nollé (1986), 204–206; Nollé (1990), 258, fig. 18, 98. In Athens, Hadrian founded three new agonistic festivals, the *Panhellenia,* the *Hadrianeia* and the *Olympieia,* and granted the Panathenaea the status of a 'sacred contest', thus transforming Athens into the agonistic centre of the Greek world (Spawforth and Walker (1985), 90–91).

84 *GIBM* III,2, no. 600; Yegül (1982), 28.

85 Yegül (1982), 26–27.

86 *Id.*, 30–31.

87 Most recently, Willers has published an exhaustive study of the Panhellenic programme of Hadrian, the Imperial Cult of Hadrian and the role of the Temple of Olympian Zeus (Willers (1990)).

Hadrian was honoured along with other deities. The flanking rooms could have been used as a library and maybe for administrative purposes. The book archives were most likely stored in the lateral rooms and in the small rooms located against the eastern wall. The rolls could be studied in these rooms or in the large open rooms flanking the sanctuary which may have served even as reading rooms. The porticoes served for perambulations and disputations.

A counterpart for the 'Hall of Honour' of the 'Library of Hadrian' could have been in the Library of Pantainos at Athens.[88] This building was dedicated to the Emperor Trajan by Titus Flavius Pantainos and it probably included a shrine to the Imperial Cult, a kind of 'Hall of Honour' for Trajan, since parts of a statue of Trajan and a base for a second statue were found in the ruins.[89] The base recorded a dedication of a statue of Trajan by his priest Herodes Atticus Marathonios, the father of Herodes Atticus. This attests that even the Library of Pantainos was much more than a store-room of books; the building very likely incorporated a small imperial shrine.

The importance of the so-called Library of Hadrian is evident by comparing it with the Ancient Agora and the Roman Agora at Athens: both the Hadrianic complex and the Roman Agora are built in the same architectural fashion, to show their equality with the Ancient Agora (figs. 1–3). Wolfram Martini even goes a step further and argues that all the architectural units of the Hadrianic complex evidence its importance; this kind of monumentalism would have been too ostentatious for a library or a scientific institution.[90] All the Imperial Fora in Rome had a temple for the centre of the architectonic complex and this might have been in Hadrian's mind when he built the monumental complex for his second home town and second capital, Athens, as a new imperial forum with a *Kaisersaal* for the Imperial Cult. Both the Hadrianic Forum at Athens and the 'Trajaneum' of Italica in Hadrian's home town repeat architectural features which could be seen in the Forum Pacis at Rome. Even the 'State Agora' of Side, the Building M, could have been designed as an imperial forum by someone familiar with the Forum Pacis and the 'Forum of Hadrian' at Athens with its *Kaisersaal*.

IV. The 'Library of Hadrian' in Late Antiquity

Scholars are agreed that the Hadrianic complex had been destroyed by the Herulians in A.D. 267 and was rehabilitated in the beginning of the fifth century, that is, over a hundred years later, when the Prefect of Illyricum, Herculius repaired the complex.[91] Excavations made in the area before 1980[92] suggested that the peristyle was rebuilt with new columns and the chambers at the east end of the building were remodelled. A tetraconch building that was erected in the middle of the area, where a large water-pool

88 For the location of the Library of Pantainos, see our fig. 3, beside the western flank of the Post-Herulian Wall.

89 I wish to thank Julia Burman for drawing my attention to this feature in the Library of Pantainos. For the statue, the statue base and the possible shrine for the imperial cult, see Camp (1986), 190 and *id.* (1990), 136.

90 Martini (1985), 190–191.

91 *IG* II/III^2, no. 4224 (no. **31** in Sironen's paper) on the left side of the entrance to the Hadrianic Forum, a dedication to Herculius, has a central role in the interpretation of the later history of the Hadrianic complex. See below for further discussion.

92 Catling (1983), 9. Later work in the 1980's has revealed more building material belonging to the second phase of the peristyle. See, for example, Knithakes and Tinginaka (1981), 4–5, pl. 9; Knithakes and Tinginaka (1985); Knithakes and Tinginaka (1986).

was located previously (compare figs. 4 a and 4 b), was connected with the same building programme. Sherds attributed to the late fourth century were found in the fill between this elongated rectangular pool and the foundations of the tetraconch,[93] which suggested a date some time in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Was this important building, the supposed Forum of Hadrian, which formed a part of the Post-Herulian Wall (fig. 3), actually out of use for over a hundred years? Do we have any evidence from the period between the Herulian raid and the activity of Herculius? We know that the Hadrianic complex continued to serve the public needs in the same form at least until the Herulian Sack in A.D. 267. If the archives survived that event, which the building did, the official abstracts that could have formed a part of the archives in the Hadrianic building were moved, according to Sisson, to Thessalonica after the edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus, in A.D. 305.[94] Thereafter, however, the function of the Hadrianic complex as a sanctuary and as a library could have continued. Moreover, the rebuilding financed by Herculius in the beginning of the fifth century could perhaps have taken place after (and because of) the destruction of the city by Alaric and the Goths in A.D. 396.

There is some evidence to suggest that Hadrian's Forum was in use during the fourth century. First of all, when the Post-Herulian Wall was built, the complex formed a part of the new wall so that the interior of the peristyle enclosure was inside the new defended area and the original entrance of the building formed one of the gates of the Post-Herulian Wall[95] (fig. 3). Spawforth and Walker suggest that the 'Library of Hadrian' was left untouched when the defensive wall was built, and it could have housed a garrison occupied perhaps by the local militia.[96] They believe that the administrative activity in this area may have proof in the existence of the tetrarchic decree of A.D. 305. Contrary to Sisson's[97] opinion, Spawforth and Walker did not see the inscription as an indication that the 'Library of Hadrian' originally served as an archive. They proposed that the Roman Agora and the larger Hadrianic building, the 'meeting-place of the Panhellenion', could have housed the administrative centre of Athens in the late third and fourth centuries.

Another piece of evidence of the fourth-century use of the 'Forum of Hadrian' comes from a late fourth-century portrait head which was found in the beginning of this century near the north-western corner of the complex.[98] The statue may come from the Hadrianic complex and this would mean that the probable sanctuary in the building was in use at the end of the fourth century A.D. This head, which has usually been identified as a representation of the Emperor Julian wearing a polos,[99] could indicate that the 'Library of

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93 Travlos (1950), 49, note 1; *id.* (1986), 346 (Travlos dated the tetraconch in this later publication to the middle of the fifth century A.D.). I am grateful to Dr. Judith Perlzweig Binder, who pointed out to me that these sherds have probably been dated much too early, because this date was given before she had revised the chronology of the Athenian lamps following her work on the Alaric destruction fill in Athens, and before John Hayes published the revised chronology of Late Roman pottery after going through the pottery from the most important deposits of the Agora.

94 Sisson (1929), 66, referring to an inscription found in the pavement of a church near the 'Library of Hadrian', *IG* II/III^2, no. 1121.

95 Travlos (1988b), 136–137, 139.

96 Spawforth and Walker (1985), 98 and note 139.

97 Sisson (1929), 66.

98 Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 2006. The portrait published and identified first as a representation of the Emperor Julian by Kastriotou (1923), 118–123. See also Datsoule-Stavride (1985), 91–92, pl. 136.

99 Even if the portrait represents an Athenian priest and not Julian, as some scholars have suggested (for example, most recently Meischner (1990), 320–324, fig. 12), it may still have a connection with the sanctuary of the Hadrianic Forum.

Hadrian' was still an imperial forum in the second half of the fourth century A.D. where, in my opinion, the statue of the emperor could have been situated in an apse in the middle of the great hall of the eastern side, in the *Kaisersaal*. Cornelius C. Vermeule[100] has pointed out that this portrait head, which was fashioned for insertion in a draped statue, is related to archaic Greek types used for Zeus and has been based on a likeness of Antoninus Pius. The iconography of the portrait emphasises equality with Zeus and other gods and at the same time resembles the iconography of the representations of the second-century emperors. These characteristics would even be suited for a statue of an imperial priest which was placed in the sanctuary of the 'Forum of Hadrian', if the portrait represents a priest and not the Emperor Julian, as Jutta Meischner[101] has suggested.

The Kaisareion in Antioch-on-the-Orontes

A construction analogous to the 'Library of Hadrian' could have been the Kaisareion in Antioch-on-the-Orontes, originally established by Caesar in 47 B.C. According to John Malalas[102] it seems to have been a courtyard type of building with four enclosing porticoes, one of which contained an apse in the centre originally embellished with the statues of Caesar and Roma. This structure was restored by the Emperor Valens in A.D. 371, where, as Malalas describes,

> "...he built there first the forum, planning it as a large project. He broke up the 'basilica', the earlier so-called Kaisareion, close to the water-clock and the baths of Commodus..., and renovated the apse of the monument... And he built another 'basilica' on the other side of the baths of Commodus and adorned the four 'basilicas' with large columns of Salona marble, decorating their ceilings with inlaid work, multicoloured marble and mosaics, thus finishing his forum by paving with marble the vaulted substructions over the river Parmenius. The four 'basilicas' were further adorned with various decorations, and statues were erected and in the middle he raised a very large marble column crowned with a statue of the Emperor Valentinian, his brother. In the Senatus of the apse he placed a marble statue and in the centre of the 'basilica' of the apse he put up another seated statue of precious stone, dedicated to the same most divine ruler Valentinian."[103]

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100 Vermeule (1968), 357, 404–405, no. 2.

101 Meischner (1990), 320–324, fig. 12.

102 John Malalas (ed. Dindorf (1831), 216, line 17 f.; 287, line 1 f.); Sjöqvist (1954), 91–95.

103 John Malalas (ed. Dindorf (1831), 338, line 19 f.):
Καὶ ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχέων πόλει, τερφθεὶς τῆς τοποθεσίας καὶ τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, πρῶτον τὸν φόρον, ἐπιβαλόμενος μέγα κτίσμα, λύσας τὴν βασιλικὴν τὴν λεγομένην πρώην τὸ Καισάριον, τὴν οὖσαν πλησίον τοῦ ὡρολογίου καὶ τοῦ Κομμοδίου δημοσίου, τοῦ νυνὶ ὄντος πραιτωρίου ὑπατικοῦ Συρίας ἄρχοντος, ἕως τοῦ λεγομένου Πλεθρίου, καὶ τὴν κόγχην ἀνανεώσας αὐτῆς καὶ εἰλήσας ἀψῖδας ἐπάνω τοῦ λεγομένου Παρμενίου χειμάρρου ποταμοῦ, κατερχομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας. Καὶ ποιήσας ἄλλην βασιλικὴν κατέναντι τοῦ Κομμοδίου καὶ κοσμήσας τὰς τέσσαρας βασιλικὰς κίοσι μεγάλοις Σαλωνιτικοῖς, καλαθώσας δὲ τὰς ὑποροφώσεις καὶ καλλωπίσας γραφαῖς καὶ μαρμάροις διαφόροις καὶ μουσώσει, μαρμαρώσας δὲ ἐπάνω τῶν εἰλημάτων τοῦ χειμάρρου πᾶν τὸ μέσαυλον ἐπλήρωσε τὸν φόρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς τέτρασι βασιλικαῖς διαφόρους ἀρετὰς χαρισάμενος καὶ ἀνδριάντας στήσας, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ στήσας μεγάλην πάνυ κίονα, ἔχουσαν στήλην Βαλεντινιανοῦ βασιλέως, ἀδελφοῦ

Could something similar have happened in Athens in the second half of the fourth century A.D.? Could any of the late fourth-century emperors have allowed his own statue or a statue of a priest of the Imperial Cult to be erected inside an earlier Hadrianic building which might have been embellished with statues of the imperial family before?

If the answer is positive, it would mean that the Hadrianic complex continued its existence throughout the fourth century as a cultural centre with a *Kaisersaal* for the Imperial Cult. This possibility becomes even more important when we take up our second problem, the relation of the tetraconch church to the Hadrianic complex (fig. 4 b).

V. What Was the Role of the Tetraconch Built in the Middle of the 'Library of Hadrian' in the Fifth Century A.D.?

Our second problem is the role of the tetraconch building situated in the middle of the courtyard of the Hadrianic complex at Athens. (Figs. 4 b, 2 a, 3) The Athenian tetraconch has commonly been dated to the first or second decade of the fifth century A.D. or later by its wall constructions and the simple polychrome mosaics[104] which can be compared with other Late Roman remains in Athens. In 1986, John Travlos, who first identified the quatrefoil building as a secular construction, published[105] results from the excavations of 1980 that uncovered remains of a colonnaded atrium (fig. 4 b). The atrium and a *synthronon* in the eastern apsis belonging to the original quatrefoil building disproved the earlier arguments for the tetraconch as a secular building.

It has been suggested that the tetraconch was the earliest church building recorded in Athens. As we know from the inscription (*IG* II/III^2, no. 4224) on the left side of the entrance to the 'Library of Hadrian', the Prefect of Illyricum, Herculius (407/8–412) rebuilt the Hadrianic complex.[106] Scholars have argued about his relationship to the construction of the tetraconch but it now seems evident that the tetraconch was constructed later. Furthermore, the inscription beside the library entrance was dedicated to Herculius by the sophist Plutarchus, who probably was pagan, and accordingly most likely would not have honoured the builder of a Christian church. Therefore, the construction of the tetraconch must have taken place after the sophist Plutarchus made his dedication to Herculius, in other words after the year A.D. 412.

αὐτοῦ καὶ στήλην δὲ μαρμαρίνην ἐν τῷ Σηνάτῳ τῆς Κόγχης καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς ἐν τῇ Κόγχῃ βασιλικῆς ἄλλην στήλην διὰ τιμίου λίθου ἀνέθηκε καθεζομένην τῷ αὐτῷ θειοτάτῳ βασιλεῖ Βαλεντινιανῷ.

Transl. Sjöqvist (1954), 93. Sjöqvist pointed out that Malalas probably used the word *basilica*, as occasionally happened in the East, for a public building connected with royal or imperial activities, not as a *basilica forensis* in the Vitruvian sense. In this particular passage Malalas, according to Sjöqvist, used the word *basilica* for a portico or a colonnade (Sjöqvist (1954), 91–92, 94).

104 For the date of the mosaics, see for example: Spiro (1978), 14–26, pls. 10–23. She followed the first identification which Travlos gave to the tetraconch; Travlos saw it as a secular structure. Therefore Spiro connected the tetraconch to the building activities of Herculius (see below) and dated the mosaics to the first decade of the fifth century.

105 Travlos (1986), 343–347, pls. 54–57.

106 See no. **31** in Sironen's paper. For Herculius, see *PLRE* II, *s.v.* Herculius 2; Frantz (1969); *ead.* (1965), 192 note 30, 196 note 53–54; *ead.* (1966), 379–380; *ead.* (1988), 20, 63–67, 77, 79.

I would date the tetraconch to the second quarter of the fifth century, because most of the mosaics in the tetraconch[107] have a more complicated design than the other Athenian mosaics[108] with similar geometric motifs. The mosaics of the quatrefoil building even include a representation of a vase and floral motifs. The other three Athenian mosaics with similar patterns to these represented in the northern *ambulatorium* of the tetraconch seem to be older in style and could perhaps be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century.[109]

Further Arguments for Dating the Tetraconch

The motif represented in the southern *ambulatorium* of the tetraconch, a panel of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils has a counterpart in the rebuilt Metroön in the Ancient Agora. The mosaic in the Metroön, which even represents a similar ivy tendril in the border, has been dated by numismatic evidence to around A.D. 400, which suggests a fifth-century date for the tetraconch along with the inscription *IG* II/III^2, no. 4224. The more developed iconography of the tetraconch mosaics would suggest a slightly later date, possibly the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. as Frantz[110] has proposed.

Other well-dated comparisons can be found at Stobi; the best comparison is provided by the mosaics decorating the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi.[111] The archaeological evidence indicates that the old basilica was built in two phases. The first church was decorated with mosaic laid out in square and rectangular fields featuring geometric and floral ornaments. A square field with a representation of a crater flanked by four birds was placed in front of the entrance to the *presbyterium*.[112] Ruth Kolarik suggested that the first church may have been built before the end of the fourth century, since at least one coin sealed beneath the floor of the south aisle[113] dates to the 360's or 370's, which makes impossible the Constantinian date suggested earlier by Blaga Aleksova.[114]

In the second phase the apse of the first church at Stobi was demolished and a new *presbyterium* with an apse was built as an extension toward the east. The space in front of the new *presbyterium* was covered with a new mosaic, and a crater with an inscription mentioning a bishop Eustathius was placed in the central field. The other fields are decorated with geometric and floral motifs. The later mosaic was carried out with greater skill, the geometric and floral patterns laid out with precision and with symmetrical composition.[115] Similar fields with the pattern of an octagon surrounded by squares with lozenges in the corners flank the inscription panel distinguished by a vine-filled crater.

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107 For the latest description of the mosaics, see Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (with Pelekanidou) (1987), no. 61, p. 118–121, pls. 174–177. The author, like Spiro, dates the mosaics to the first decade of the fifth century using the inscription dedicated to Herculius as an argument. I am following the date suggested already by Frantz (Frantz (1988), 73).

108 That is the mosaic in the central hall of the 'House of Proclus' on the southern slope of the Acropolis, the mosaic in a large villa in the southern part of the National Garden and the mosaic from Euripidou Street 67 now placed in the courtyard of the Byzantine Museum.

109 There is more about these mosaics in my article "The 'House of Proclus' on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: a Contribution".

110 Frantz (1988), 73.

111 I refer to the recent studies on the Stobi mosaics by Aleksova (1982–1983) and Kolarik (1987).

112 Aleksova (1982–1983), 55–56.

113 Kolarik (1987), 297, note 13 (coin no. 78–632).

114 Aleksova (1982–1983), 56–57.

115 *Id.*, 57, 59.

Each octagon features a square filled with a circle containing an interlaced knot. The filling motifs are geometric or geometrised floral patterns: knots of Solomon, heart-shaped leaves, quatrefoils, spindle shapes combined with peltae or curving lines on either side. A smaller adjoining panel on the east is filled with quatrefoils formed by intersecting circles in the southern field.[116] These two fields were framed with a wave pattern, a second framing border was introduced bordering the base of the chancel screen, an acanthus rinceau on the north and an ivy rinceau on the south. The central inscription panel was framed by a two-strand guilloche.[117] The fields of mosaics bordering the new presbytery of the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi have symmetrical decoration. The two fields to the east of the chancel screen have patterns with rows of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils alternating with rows of tangent circles forming curvilinear squares. The fields further east have intersecting circles forming quatrefoils and concave squares in the centre of each circle.[118]

The second-phase mosaics in the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi get a *terminus post quem* from the Episcopal Basilica which was built over the early basilica sometime after A.D. 425–450, as attested by the two coins[119] sealed beneath its floor. Kolarik suggested a date in the first half of the fifth century for the second-phase mosaics and compared them to the mosaics laid in the west end of the main room of the Synagogue Two at Stobi sometime between the installation of the first mosaics of the synagogue in the second half of the fourth century, and the destruction of the synagogue before the construction of the Central Basilica above the ruins of the Synagogue Two that has a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 457–474 provided by a coin of Leo.[120]

These mosaics have parallels in the secular buildings at Stobi.[121] The second-phase mosaics of the Old Episcopal Basilica can be compared with the mosaics of the House of Parthenius: both include patterns of a large octagon surrounded by squares and lozenges, and the central octagon is inscribed with a square and tangent triangles. Both have waves, a simple guilloche and geometrised ivy tendril as border designs. It should be emphasised that both have similarities with the tetraconch mosaics: the octagon design, the border designs,[122] even the filling motifs as knots of Solomon, interlaced knots, curving lines and intersecting circles.[123] These similarities indicate that the three sets of mosaics cannot be far removed from each other in date.

The first-phase mosaics laid in the Episcopal Basilica above the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi, represent a more developed geometric design with exquisite patterns compared to the mosaics from the second phase of the Old Episcopal Basilica, the House of Parthenius and the tetraconch at Athens. They have a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 425–450 provided by the two coins attributed to the reign of Valentinian III and Theodosius II sealed beneath the floor,[124] which may help to date the mosaics in the tetraconch.

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116 The small adjoining panel in the northern field represents combinations of stars of eight lozenges with perpendicular squares and smaller diagonal squares.

117 A good illustration of the panel with the inscription in Aleksova (1986), 34, fig. 8.

118 A detailed description of the mosaics in Kolarik (1987), 297, 303; figs. 6 and 8.

119 Coins 74–428 and 75–104, cross-in-wreath type issued by Theodosius II and Valentinian III. Kolarik (1987), 303.

120 *Id.*, 303, note 21.

121 Compare *id.*, 304 for further bibliography.

122 Ivy tendril, waves, two-strand guilloche, even the bead-and-reel design which can be seen in the tetraconch and in the House of Parthenius.

123 In the Old Episcopal Basilica and in the tetraconch.

124 See Kolarik (1987), 304.

The second-phase mosaics of the Old Episcopal Basilica and the mosaics in the tetraconch have one important common feature. Both are without figural decoration except for the vine-filled crater placed in a significant location in the mosaic decoration of the church. In the Old Episcopal Basilica it is placed just in front of the entrance to the presbytery,[125] whereas in the tetraconch it decorates the central panel in the southern *ambulatorium*. The geometric mosaics in both churches continue the new non-figurative ideal in the mosaic decoration which was in favour from the second half of the fourth century until at least the mid-fifth century A.D. The figure of the crater with vines in the church mosaics, however, could indicate, as Ruth Kolarik states that: "when fewer and fewer figural scenes appeared in floors in the late fourth century, those that were chosen were carefully considered." She suggests that the crater with vines gained in popularity, because it could be interpreted symbolically when located in a meaningful spot.

The conclusion to be drawn from the comparisons in Athens and Stobi is that the mosaics in the tetraconch could probably be dated to the first half of the fifth century, maybe to the second quarter of the fifth century. In the beginning of the fifth century another great building, the 'Palace of the Giants', was erected in the Ancient Agora at Athens.[126] (Figs. 2 a, 16) The architect of this building used the same architectural elements as those used a little later by the architect of the tetraconch: namely, peristyle, atrium, rectangular and semicircular exedrae. It is possible that the same architect planned both complexes. As Thompson already pointed out without associating the tetraconch with the Palace: "At a time when very few substantial buildings other than churches were being erected in Greece it would be strange if the gifted architect who was responsible for our Palace had not also designed some churches."[127] The 'Palace of the Giants' and the tetraconch represent similar wall constructions.[128] In both, the walls consist for the most part of unworked stone set in mortar, and the masonry is interrupted at intervals by courses of red brick, in single or double courses. Bricks were used extensively to reinforce corners and door openings, and in both many ancient blocks were employed. The walls in both buildings could have been plastered, yet the walls show no trace of plaster.

VI. The Church-Peristyle Complexes

To know more about the function of the Athenian tetraconch we have to compare it with analogous buildings and try to shed some light on the origin of the aisled tetraconch structure. As far as we know, all recorded examples of aisled tetraconch buildings were erected as church buildings.

One of the oldest of the kind may be the tetraconch-peristyle complex at Perge in Pamphylia. Because a tetraconch was built on the central axis of the Pergaean palaestra, the palaestra must have been well preserved and still in use during the time of its construction. But according to W. E. Kleinbauer, the function of the building may have changed during Roman times. Kleinbauer believes that the tetraconch at Perge was

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125 Compare *id.*, 305–306.

126 Thompson (1988), 95–116.

127 *Id.*, 114.

128 For the wall construction in the 'Palace of the Giants', see Thompson (1988), 98–99, and in the tetraconch, see Sisson (1929), 66–71. The possible connection of the tetraconch and the 'Palace of the Giants' discussed previously by Travlos (1986), 346; Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), 120, note 122; Fowden (1990), 498–500.

constructed no earlier than the fourth century A.D.[129] The Pergaean tetraconch could have used the old palaestra as an atrium since it was connected to the northern perimeter wall of the palaestra by a flight of stairs.[130] On the other hand, when it is compared to the Athenian tetraconch, the quatrefoil building in Athens had an atrium *and* a peristyle surrounding the tetraconch-atrium complex (fig. 4 b). In both cases, the Christian church makes efficient use of the architectural setting of an imperial audience hall complex. We might recall that the Pergaean palaestra was dedicated to the Emperor Claudius, thus indicating a connection of the Pergaean tetraconch and the Imperial Cult, on the condition that the palaestra was still in use in its original form when the church was built. It is possible to go a step further and suggest that in Athens the power and the divine nature of the quatrefoil building as the first church of the growing Christian community was emphasised by situating it in the middle of an imperial forum, the 'Forum of Hadrian'.

A similar situation occurred in Alexandria where a church was built in the middle of the Sebasteion/Kaisareion of Julius Caesar which was built in 48 B.C. and was described by Philo of Alexandria (around A.D. 40): "(...) It is full of offerings of paintings and sculptures and decorated all round with silver and gold. It is a very large enclosure adorned with porticoes, libraries, club rooms, gardens, propylaea, open terraces, courtyards under the open sky and provided with everything that could contribute to value and beauty."[131] The church in Alexandria was constructed in the middle of the fourth century A.D. and was later mentioned by the bishop of Constantia, Epiphanius, as being originally an Arian church, but completed by Athanasius.[132]

Even the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople[133] and the Golden Octagon in Antioch[134] were surrounded by a peristyle. But what is special with the Athenian complex is that it even included an atrium inside the surrounding peristyle. The atrium as an architectural form was first used in secular architecture and, according to Richard Stapleford, all the secular atria from the time of Constantine, whose use and form are analogous to those in Constantinian churches, formed a part of the imperial semi-public audience hall complexes, where the emperor made official public appearances.[135] The atrium combined with the pediment was the architectural setting for imperial *adventus*, connected with the idea of triumph and imperial presence. In this way the 'Forum of Hadrian', with its new church and atrium, could have emphasised the divine nature of the emperor and at the same time the cosmic power of Christianity,[136] since the emperor was God's representative on earth.

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129 Kleinbauer (1987), 279.

130 *Id.*, 278.

131 Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* XXII.151 (ed. Smallwood (1961), 93; transl. Sjöqvist (1954), 87). See also Yegül (1982), 18.

132 Epiphanius, *Adversus octoginta haereses* 69.2 (in *PG* 42, cols. 204–205); for translation and commentary, see Sjöqvist (1954), 88.

133 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.58 (ed. Winkelmann (1975), 111). Stapleford (1978), 7; Krautheimer (1983), 58.

134 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.50 (ed. Winkelmann (1975), 104–105); Stapleford (1978), 7.

135 Stapleford (1978), 12–13.

136 Compare *id.*, 17.

The Archetype of the Tetraconchs

W. E. Kleinbauer prefers the theory that the archetype for aisled tetraconchs was a church building, arguing that "a pagan archetype may be ruled out of consideration, for church officials would have objected to it on religious grounds"![137] However, this would seem to be a knock-down argument if we bear in mind the origin of the Christian church buildings.[138] Recently, Jan Vaes has shown in his excellent article how the Christians found different prototypes for church architecture in pagan architecture.[139] According to Jan Vaes, the prototype for the double-shell structure of the tetraconchs can be traced back to the quatrefoil building in Piazza d'Oro at Tivoli.[140]

However, Kleinbauer tried to reconstruct the archetype of the tetraconchs by examining S. Lorenzo at Milan, usually dated to the second half of the fourth century.[141] The church contained galleries, a design element used in the Eastern Mediterranean, and this is the main argument for Kleinbauer to identify in S. Lorenzo an eastern model as for the double-shell structure, because the only other example in the Latin West comes from S. Leucia at Canosa in Apulia.[142] I would like to draw attention to another similarity between S. Lorenzo and the Athenian quatrefoil building: like the Athenian tetraconch S. Lorenzo had a monumental portico in front of the entrance and the main entrance was arched. The architect of the Athenian tetraconch easily acquired this element by using the original entrance of the Hadrianic complex. But while S. Lorenzo was built outside the city walls, the quatrefoil building at Athens was constructed in the centre of the city.

Kleinbauer has identified the cathedral at Antioch as the prototype for the tetraconchs,[143] using Eusebius' description of the building as the main argument in support of this identification. This church building was planned by Constantine the Great in A.D. 327 and finished by his son, the Arian Emperor Constantius. Being the patriarchal church of Oriens the cathedral of Antioch could have provided a model for other cathedrals under its jurisdiction. Kleinbauer argues that ὀκτάεδρος, the word used by Eusebius for specifying the shape of the Antiochian cathedral, does not necessarily refer to an octagon. In other words, he is inclined to believe that Eusebius' text refers to a double-shelled building,[144] which would make it possible that the word could refer to a tetraconch structure.[145]

Kleinbauer connects the aisled tetraconchs of the upper Balkan peninsula to Constantinople and suggests that the archetype was a church building at Constantinople, but, in my judgment, he incorrectly connects even the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem to

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137 Kleinbauer (1987), 286.

138 Duval emphasised the mutual relationship of pagan and Christian central-plan buildings: "Les rotondes, les polygones, les tétraconques, les structures carrées du type baldaquin ont, quel que soit leur usage a l'époque chrétienne, leurs prototypes exacts dans l'architecture impériale." (Duval (1978), 520–521.)

139 Vaes (1984–1986), 305–367, esp. 342–343 and figs. 80, 81.

140 *Id.*, 346, note 108; figs. 80A,10 and 80B,10.

141 Kleinbauer (1987), 287, note 39. According to Krautheimer, this church dates back to the years between A.D. 375–376 and 378 and was erected as the cathedral of the anti-Nicene faction at Milan with the help of imperial backing (Krautheimer (1983), 81–92).

142 Kleinbauer (1987), 287–288.

143 Compare however Krautheimer (1986), 75–78, 81, 465–467.

144 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.50 (ed. Winkelmann (1975), 105); Kleinbauer (1987), 288–289.

145 Krautheimer, however, is not convinced that this reconstruction is correct (Krautheimer (1986), 465, note 20).

this archetype.[146] The architectural connection with Constantinople supports the possibility that the Athenian tetraconch had an imperial foundation. The tetraconch was built in the middle of the city (figs. 2–3), just as in Constantinople the cathedral Hagia Sophia was situated in the most important part of the city, near the palace and the civic centre.

VII. The Empress Eudocia, the Founder of the Tetraconch?

C. Delvoye, Daria De Bernardi Ferrero and, most recently, Garth Fowden[147] have expressed the idea that the Empress Eudocia founded the tetraconch as a church building in her home town Athens. Eudocia, formerly Athenais, was the daughter of the Athenian sophist Leontius and the sister of Gessius who became the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum after Eudocia's marriage. Athenais married the Emperor Theodosius II on June 7, A.D. 421 in Constantinople, took the name Eudocia and was baptised. It is quite possible that she wanted to embellish Athens with a magnificent church building to show respect and gratitude to God and, at the same time, to show the Athenians that Christianity was the official religion of the Empire and of the court, including herself. Eudocia could have emphasised the importance of this church building by placing it in the middle of the Hadrianic Forum, the old cultural centre with the *Kaisersaal* dedicated to the Imperial Cult, to show that the emperor and the Imperial Court had a definite relation with God. If the centre of the Hadrianic complex had been the image of the emperor, now the architectural and ideological centre of the large complex was moved to the tetraconch, to the liturgical centre of the church, that is the eastern apsis with its altar (fig. 10). The main entrance to this building was from the western side through an atrium. Two other entrances flanking the main apse in the east (figs. 4 b and 10) were directly connected to the eastern suite of rooms in the courtyard building, thus connecting the tetraconch with the auditoria, the library and the main hall dedicated to the emperor.

The position of the tetraconch is peculiar in another respect: even though it was the first Christian church in Athens, as has been suggested, it was built inside the Post-Herulian Wall, inside the city walls.[148] (Figs. 2 a, 3) In Rome, the Christian emperors of the fourth century were not allowed to build churches within the city walls: Constantine the Great was obliged to build all the churches on the outskirts of the city and outside the walls and *only* on his private land, *res privata*.[149] He wanted to avoid conflicts with the old aristocrats and pagan families who constituted the most important members of the Senate. He placed all his churches far away from the old administrative centre, temples, theatres, baths and suchlike, all of which were public buildings, *opera publica*. Throughout the Empire these buildings belonged to the jurisdiction of the local municipality or the provincial authority. At Rome the jurisdiction was used by the Senate and the Roman people, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.[150]

As late as the 380's, when the three emperors financed the construction of San Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome, they needed to obtain permission to work from the Senate and the Roman people, because they were going to build the church on a road which belonged to

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146 Kleinbauer (1987), 291–292.

147 Delvoye (1967), 67; De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 184–185; Fowden (1990), 498–500.

148 If we presume that the northern wall of the 'Library of Hadrian' was the outer defensive wall.

149 See Krautheimer (1983), 25–32.

150 For *opera publica*, see *CTh* XV; Krautheimer (1983), 29–30.

the *opera publica*.[151] In the same way, it may have been necessary to have permission to build the tetraconch at Athens in a public area which included *opera publica* as a library and, possibly still in the beginning of the fifth century, a sanctuary. This permission was easy to obtain if relatives or friends of the imperial family were in office, as was the case when Eudocia's brothers or friends of his family were in office, especially when her brother Gessius was the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum. The tetraconch church was built in the middle of the peristyle courtyard so the 'Forum of Hadrian' preserved its religious nature, this time in the service of the Imperial family, who brought the idea of a supreme God to the Athenians.

As we know, as early as about A.D. 402–407 Eudocia's mother-in-law the Empress Eudoxia had shipped an architectural plan to Gaza for the church building which was to replace the Marneion.[152] This and Eudocia's keen interest in religious affairs indicates that Eudocia could have done the same thing as her mother-in-law did in the first decade of the fifth century. Another proof of Eudocia's contacts with Athens is the honorary inscription for the Empress Eudocia from the Athenian Agora published by my colleague Erkki Sironen.[153] According to him, the monument in question was the base for a statue of Eudocia erected by (the Emperor?) Theodosius. It possibly commemorated the building of the 'Palace of the Giants' (fig. 16),[154] previously called the 'Gymnasium of the Giants',[155] because fragments of the statue base were found in front of this complex. Our historian, Mrs. Julia Burman, discusses in greater detail the problem of Eudocia's contacts with Athens elsewhere in this publication.

A Political Purpose?

Daria De Bernardi Ferrero argues that the central hall of the 'Library of Hadrian' was a Sanctuary common to all the gods, dedicated to the cult of the emperor and all of the gods. She believes that this central hall, *Kaisersaal,* was preserved after the construction of the tetraconch with regard to the emperor and the ancient religion as practised in Side, where the statues were still in the *Kaisersaal* of the Building M. De Bernardi Ferrero suggests that the church was built in the middle of the courtyard of the Hadrianic complex to bring the new state religion into the traditional pagan and cultural centre and in this way to strengthen the new religion.[156] She based her argumentation on several edicts of *Codex Theodosianus*.[157] These edicts prohibited the destruction of the temples of high artistic value, even if the ceremonies and sacrifices were prohibited.

As Fikret K. Yegül asserted, the cult of the emperor with its pagan rites could not be contained in a Christian world; the altars and altar ceremony had to go: "The entire iconography of architecture and the language of symbols... were placed at the service of

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151 Günther (1895), 46 f.; Krautheimer (1983), 30, 130, note 22.

152 Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii* 75–76, 78–79 (ed. Soc. Philol. Bonn. (1895); transl. in Mango (1972), 30–32); Kleinbauer (1987), 289–290, note 60.

153 Sironen (1990).

154 Thompson and Fowden follow Sironen's suggestion and presume that the statue would have some connection with the Palace (Fowden (1990), 498, note 25).

155 Thompson (1988), 95–116.

156 De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 184.

157 *CTh* (ed. Mommsen and Meyer (1962)) XVI.1.30; XVI.1.33; XVI.10.15 (A.D. 399); for the reconstruction of the temples to public purposes: *CTh* XVI.10.3 (1 November, A.D. 342); the prohibition of the cult: *CTh* XVI.10.20 (A.D. 415); XVI.10.21 (7 December, A.D. 415); XVI.10.23 (8 June, A.D. 423). (De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 184.)

the new Christian emperor as God's elect and were assimilated into the Christian context. The pagan settings in which the cult was observed were for the most part retained and kept up; (...) once purged of their heathen connections, they could speak for the new ruler, regime, and ideology with the same eloquence and effectiveness as they had done for the old."[158]

The very same process could have taken place in Athens. After the Sack of Alaric and the Visigoths in A.D. 396, the Hadrianic building was repaired by the Praetorian Prefect Herculius some time between the years A.D. 407 to 412. It is quite possible that the Empress Eudocia founded the tetraconch church building in the middle of the courtyard in the second quarter of the fifth century, and in this way the 'Forum of Hadrian' could have been placed at the service of the Emperor Theodosius II and his family as God's elect.[159]

I believe that the importance of the tetraconch and the 'Forum of Hadrian' was furthered in the middle of the fifth century when long porticoes were built along the new road[160] leading from the Ancient Agora to the entrance of Hadrian's complex and the tetraconch (fig. 2 a). This could even be evidence for the disappearance of the Panathenaic Festival, since the Panathenaic Way had lost its original function as the processional road leading to the Acropolis and the road to the new main church of Athens was used in Christian processions.

158 Yegül (1982), 28–29. There is a possibility that the Hadrianic Forum with its Imperial Hall was temporarily used for the Imperial Cult of the Emperor Julian in the 360's, if the portrait found nearby represents Julian and if the portrait comes from the Hadrianic building (the head was found outside the north-western corner of the complex).

159 Compare De Bernardi Ferrero (1975), 185.

160 Compare Shear (1971), 264–265; Frantz (1988), 15, 79.

Arja Karivieri

The 'House of Proclus' on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: A Contribution[1]

I. Introduction

At the end of the fourth century A.D. the Visigoths under Alaric ravaged Athens. The city, however, showed remarkable powers of recuperation with a spate of building activity in the beginning of the fifth century. Large villas decorated with colourful mosaics were built around the town evidencing the new wealth of Athens.[2] One of these large villas was a building constructed on the southern slope of the Acropolis, approximately south-east of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus and south-west of the Theatre of Dionysus

1 Above all, our thanks are due to Professor G. Dontas, who very kindly left to the disposal of the Finnish Institute at Athens many unpublished photographs and some of the finds from this important excavation that was conducted by Professor Dontas and the late J. Meliades in 1955. The photographs of the excavations are from the files of the Acropolis Museum and the photographs representing the finds were taken by Aristoteles Anagnostou. For assistance we are indebted to Mrs. Choremi. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mrs. Kyrkou for giving generously her time and counsel. I am greatly indebted to Dr. J. Perlzweig Binder for giving me so many references and so much valuable information on the Athenian topography and on the Athenian lamp production. And I must thank Professors Paavo Castrén and Gunnar af Hällström, Dr. Vappu Pyykkö, Erkki Sironen, and Julia Burman for reading this paper and making helpful comments. Grateful acknowledgement is made to John Calton for reading my manuscript and correcting my English. Any faults or flaws are mine alone.

2 Most recently on the subject: Camp (1989), 50–55, figs. 1–21; Castrén (1990), 59–64; *id.* (1991), 474–476; Fowden (1990), 494–501; Frantz (1988), 37–48; Rügler (1990), 279–294, pls. 59–60.

(see fig. 2 a). Part of this large building complex was excavated in 1955,[3] before the Dionysiou Areopagitou Avenue was built over it, when the route of the road running along the south side of the Acropolis was diverted down the slope[4] (figs. 2 a, 12, 27).

Besides many earlier constructions,[5] the northern part of this Late Roman villa (Building Chi) was found (fig. 11).[6] Measuring 32 metres in width, this part of the building included a large central hall decorated with mosaics, the southern part of the villa remaining unexcavated beneath the modern buildings. The large hall, measuring 6.4 by 9.6 metres, had a wide apse at a slightly higher level, featuring seven niches above a wall decorated with marble revetment slabs. To the east of the central hall there was a small room with a recess in the thick wall behind the apse. This recess was further embellished by the introduction of two reliefs and a relief base. Other rooms to the east of the central hall had been destroyed by a later construction, but the two rooms on the western side of the large hall had well-preserved walls, and the room flanking the central hall had a rectangular exedra with three niches.[7]

The northern entrance to Building Chi led to a corridor connected to the small room. This entrance was later closed by another construction, known as Building Sigma (figs. 12, 20). This partly excavated building included two rooms decorated with mosaics. The western wall of its southern room was distinguished by a niche comprising a relocated marble arch with a well at the foot of the niche (figs. 20, 21).[8]

Except for the sculpture decoration in the small room, various objects were found in the excavations carried out 40 years ago: a fragment of an inscription with the words σοφίην and βίοτον, a fragment of a statue of Isis and a portrait of a young man. In the room to the furthest point of the west of Building Chi the grave of a piglet together with grave offerings was found. It comprises seven cups, a simple jug, and a lamp whose disk is decorated with the figure of a running Eros; furthermore, there is a sacrificial knife in the neck of the piglet (fig. 31).[9]

The construction of Building Chi was dated to the period following Alaric's invasion in 396 by its excavators, and the stratigraphy indicated abandonment in the sixth century A.D.[10] The archaeological finds, together with the date and location of Building Chi led Meliades, the director of the excavations, to connect this villa with a passage in *Vita Procli,* the biography of the famous Neoplatonist, Proclus (Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29): "(...) Proclus always avoided notoriety so as not to give any occasion to those who wished to plot against him, and the house in which he lived favored him in this. This house, in addition to its other good features, was very pleasant for him, not only because his 'father' Syrianus and his 'forefather', as he called Plutarchus, had lived there, but also because it was in the neighborhood of the temple of Asclepius which Sophocles had made famous, and was close-by the Temple of Dionysus near the Theater, and it could be seen or otherwise perceived from the Acropolis of Athena."[11]

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3 Meliades (1955), 36–38, 46–50, fig. 1, plates 3 β, 4–8; Ἀνασκαφαὶ 1. Ἀθῆναι. α) Νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, in *Ergon* 1955, 5–11, figs. 1–6.

4 The earlier line of the road can most clearly be seen at the top of the photograph in fig. 12 and in the centre of fig. 27.

5 One of these earlier constructions is illustrated in fig. 13.

6 Meliades (1955), 46–50, pls. 3–8. *Ergon* 1955, 7–10.

7 Meliades (1955), 47–48.

8 *Id.*, 48.

9 *Id.*, 49.

10 *Id.*, 48, 50.

11 Transl. by Rosán (1949), 30. Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29 (ed. Masullo (1985)):

Thereafter, Building Chi has generally been identified as the House of Plutarchus, the founder of the Neoplatonic School at Athens, and of its successive heads.[12] Jean-Pierre Sodini,[13] however, prefers to interpret Building Chi and the houses on the Areopagus north slope, featuring similar apsidal structures, as residences representative of those occupied by the upper-class families in the empire. For him the evidence is not sufficent to prove that these houses are philosophical schools, as has been suggested (see below). My purpose in this article is to suggest evidence for the special nature of Building Chi; the special architectural solutions, the decoration, the sculpture and the archaeological finds, all of which point to the importance of this large villa. Building Chi, in my view, on account of its interior appointments and the collection of pagan sculpture accords with what we might expect from a house belonging to a philosopher or a sophist. And yet, a definitive interpretation of the function of the building cannot be made before the southern part of the building is excavated. The date of the adjoining structure, Building Sigma, and its relation to Building Chi will be discussed together with the presentation of mosaics (see below, Chapter V.).

II. The Interpretation of the Large Central Apse in Building Chi

The narrow northern end of the central hall in Building Chi culminated in a large semicircular apse, where the floor was slightly higher than that of the main hall (figs. 12, 14). The walls of the apse were preserved to the height of 3.5 metres and the lower part at least was decorated with marble slabs, since remains of the revetment were visible above floor level (fig. 15). The apse may have been partly separated from the main hall with marble orthostates forming a kind of enclosure in front of the apse.[14] The widening of the apse above the lower part of the semicircular wall covered with marble slabs included three semicircular and four semihexagonal niches, probably for decorative statues or portraits. The apse was 4.4 metres in depth and 6.6 metres wide. (Figs. 11, 15)

καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐτυχήμασιν, ἁρμοδιωτάτη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ οἴκησις ὑπῆρξεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Συριανὸς καὶ ὁ προπάτωρ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκάλει, Πλούταρχος ᾤκησαν, γείτονα μὲν οὖσαν τοῦ ἀπὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀσκληπιείου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίου, ὁρωμένην δὲ ἣ καὶ ἄλλως αἰσθητὴν γιγνομένην τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

Frantz had missed out the word καί from between ἤ and ἄλλως in her reference to Marinus' text (Frantz (1988), 43), which according to Castrén changes the meaning of the phrase quite considerably. Castrén interprets this passage as an indication for the importance of the building in question: "Marinus wanted to stress that the House of Proclus was visible from the Acropolis and *also otherwise* somehow manifest, obviously because of the considerable bulk of the construction immediately below the eyes of the spectator." (Castrén (1991), 475.)

12 Bibliography: Daux (1956), 232, 234; Vanderpool (1956), 267; Hood (1956), 5–6; Travlos (1960), 132, 134, fig. 83; Frantz (1965), 193, 196; *ead.* (1975), 31–32; Spiro (1978), 5–14, pls. 6–9; Sodini (1984), 350, 375–376, fig. 6 in p. 349 (interprets Building Chi as a residence representative of those occupied by the upper class families in other cities of the empire); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (with Elli Pelekanidou) (1987), 121–123, pls. 178–184; Frantz (1988), 42–46, 87, 91, pls. 27 b, 36 b, 44 a–b; Fowden (1990), 496; Castrén (1991), 474–476.

13 Sodini (1984), 350. Fowden follows Sodini's opinion, but accepts that Building Chi, unlike the villas on the Areopagus, can reasonably have a connection with philosophical teaching (Fowden (1990), 495–496).

14 This piece of information was published in *Ergon* 1955, 8, and was later repeated in some of the secondary sources (for example, Hood (1956), 5–6).

Many of the large Late Roman villas at Athens included comparable apsidal rooms (see for example fig. 16).[15] Alison Frantz has interpreted the apsidal structures in the large houses on the Areopagus as lecture rooms, "private theaters", of the wealthy sophists.[16] Her basic argument is premised on Eunapius' statement that the sophists "lectured to their students in their own private theaters" (ἐν τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς θεάτροις).[17] Garth Fowden, however, has subsequently argued that these constructions cannot be taken as lecture theatres since they are so typical of large Roman villas.[18]

Jean-Pierre Sodini has reservations concerning Frantz' interpretation.[19] Sodini believes that the apsidal rooms were *triclinia* and connects the use of the *sigma* tables[20] with these triclinia. He admits, however, that triclinia do not have to be apsidal, as would seem to be indicated by certain figurative mosaics and find spots of sigma tables.[21] For example, the Villa of the Falconer at Argos has a rectangular triclinium with access through two columns to a peristyle, and yet the mosaic in the triclinium is semicircular with seven wedge-shaped segments. These segments represent a semicircular couch surrounding a table with a plate adorned with fishes.[22] This mosaic may shed some light on the function of the large apsidal room in Building Chi. There, the apse was decorated with seven niches (figs. 11, 14) which, I would like to suggest, corresponds with the seven segments of the mosaic at Argos, where the segments probably marked the amount of the seats into which the couch was divided. Maybe the seven niches marked the seven segments of the sigma-couch in the apse. Even the size of the apse in Building Chi could be suitable for a triclinium with such a bench. These features could suggest that the apse was used for banquets, but, naturally, the use of this apsidal room for philosophical discussions is not ruled out.

III. The Rooms Flanking the Large Central Hall and the Presumed Domestic Shrine of Building Chi

There were other rooms flanking the central hall of Building Chi (see fig. 11). Only the lowest parts of the walls of the easternmost rooms survived, because a building constructed on the same spot in the Middle Ages had destroyed the earlier constructions. But the walls of the western rooms were up to four metres high (figs. 12, 17). The walls of the western rooms were constructed on the bedrock by setting unworked stone blocks or stone material from the adjacent demolished buildings in mortar. The stone masonry

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15 Frantz (1988), 37–41.

16 *Id.*, 45.

17 *VS* IX.1.6 (ed. Giangrande (1956)).

18 Fowden (1990), 496.

19 Sodini (1984), 344–350, 359–360, 375–383, 397. Homer A. Thompson and John Travlos among others had previously expressed this hypothesis.

20 The sigma tables are usually interpreted as tables used in religious services, but Sodini argues that the sigma tables do not necessarily have connection with the religious practice (Sodini (1984), 349). Most recently, Dunbabin has come to the conclusion that the mosaic in the Villa of the Falconer in Argos and the sigma tables found *in situ* in secular contexts in Apamea prove that such tables could have served as normal secular dining tables with a semicircular couch (Dunbabin (1991), 128–129).

21 Sodini (1984), 378–379. More about the apsidal structures and *stibadia* in Duval (1984), 457–464. A more recent publication on triclinia and *stibadia*, Dunbabin (1991). I am grateful to Dr. Judith Binder for providing me with an excerpt from Dunbabin's article.

22 Åkerström-Hougen (1974), 16, fig. 3: 105, fig. 61.

was interfaced at intervals by a single or double course of burnt brick (fig. 17).[23] Bricks were used extensively in the building to reinforce corners as well as in the construction of niches. The room to the west of the central hall had a rectangular exedra (fig. 11), which had a semicircular niche of bricks in the middle of each wall. [24]

Behind the north-eastern corner of the apse was a small, well-preserved room (fig. 11, room α) measuring two by three metres. The western part of this room featured a rectangular recess (figs. 17, 18): here, there were two reliefs,[25] one representing the Mother of the Gods in a naiskos and the other depicting a votive scene, possibly an offering to Asclepius (see below), set into the small niches of the north wall. Below these reliefs there was a re-positioned relief base or plinth, the front of which was decorated with a relief from the mid-fourth century B.C.[26]

The relief featuring the Mother of the Gods in a naiskos depicts the goddess sitting in her throne with a lion on her lap. She is holding a tympany in her left hand and a phiale in her right. This representation is very common: there are over one hundred Mother of the Gods naiskoi from the Agora Excavations alone.[27]

The smaller, badly preserved votive relief features an enthroned, bearded god and three worshippers. These three figures are of a woman, a bearded man holding an object (?) and a well-preserved representation of a boy leading a sheep before the god. We can see the male god either giving something to the boy or getting something from him. Unfortunately this feature is obscured by a fissure in the relief. We can, however, usefully compare this scene with that of a two-sided relief from the Asklepieion on the southern slope of the Acropolis.[28] One side of this relief represents an offering scene with a family of eight, one of whom is leading a sheep to the altar. Although that part of the relief where the god would have been is missing, it seems reasonable to assume (given the stereotypical configuration of such reliefs) that the family is making an offering to Asclepius. The male god in the relief from the large villa could likewise be Asclepius, as the representation bears a resemblance to other known offering scenes from the Asklepieia.

The relief base[29] (figs. 18, 19) in the small rectangular room adjacent to the apse was originally decorated with reliefs on three sides, only one of which was visible following the relocation of the base. It is an excellent example of Athenian grave reliefs from the fourth century B.C., dated by Bernard Schmaltz to the middle of the century.[30] The crude carving on the fourth side of the block suggests that it was originally set against a wall. The top surface shows that the block was originally a base for a grave monument. The original left side of the block shows two scenes (fig. 19). To the right we see a young man sitting and holding out his hand to an older bearded man. Between them stands another bearded man. Behind the young man, to the left, two bearded men have stopped for a discussion.

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23 Meliades (1955), 47–48.

24 For these niches, see *id.*, pl. 6 α.

25 Both reliefs will be published and analysed by Mrs. Maria Brouskari.

26 Meliades (1955), 48; Schmaltz (1978), 83–97, pls. 27–32.

27 For Mother of the Gods naiskoi, see Vermaseren (1982), pls. 1–59, 85–112. I thank Dr. Judith Binder for pointing out this fact to me and for the reference.

28 Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 3013. Metropoulou (1978), no. 4, p. 16, fig. 10.

29 Height 60 cm. Published by Schmaltz (1978), see above.

30 *Id.*, 84–85.

In its new location, the scene to the left with the young man sitting among the older, bearded men was chosen as the frontal decoration (fig. 19).[31] Schmaltz argues that the choice of the left side of the originally three-sided monument for the visible front side of the niche was purposeful, and he suggested that the scene could be understood in connection with the philosophical schools in its new location in the small room.[32]

Meliades was the first to suggest that the relief base was used as an offering table[33] in its new location, and several other scholars[34] have reiterated his interpretation. Another possibility is that the relief base was modified in order to hold a statue base or a plinth where the statue would represent either a god or a revered person.[35] This suggestion is based on the fact that much of the top of the relief base had been cut down to a level only slightly higher than the original cutting, creating a rectangular cutting which leaves a raised ridge on the sides at the original height. According to Bernard Schmaltz, the original round cutting of the base for a marble loutrophoros, with a diameter of 40 centimetres, was reworked into an oval cutting which could have received a statue plinth.[36] He suggests that the oval cutting would have replaced the round one, even though he does not rule out the possibility of the reverse having been the case. This oval recutting could have already been made during the Classical period. Yet, as Schmaltz emphasises, no statues representing the young deceased are known from the Classical period. Schmaltz does not, however, offer any explanation for the rectangular cutting which could be connected with the relocation of the base in Building Chi.

A Comparison with Pompeiian Lararia

The niche with the reused sculpture has generally been identified as a shrine,[37] which may lead the reader to ask what grounds there are for a domestic shrine in a Roman house and what kind of criteria have been suggested for a domestic altar. The best examples of Roman domestic shrines can be seen at Pompeii, and they were the topic of George Boyce's exhaustive study on Pompeiian lararia in 1937.[38] In the Pompeiian lararia, the gods worshipped in them were represented either by placing plastic images of the gods within the shrine or by painting their figures on the walls. Provision for sacrifice in front of the images was made by placing a permanent altar on the floor of the room before the shrine, or, more often, by putting a small portable altar within the shrine itself. From these requirements there developed three main types of lararia: the simple niche in the wall, the aedicula and the wall painting that is often combined with niche or aedicula.[39]

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31 *Id.*, 90–92.
32 *Id.*, 96–97.
33 Meliades (1955), 48.
34 For example, Spiro (1978), 7, and Frantz (1988), 43.
35 I owe this suggestion to Dr. Judith Binder. Her alternative interpretation for the small room is that it was not dedicated to a divinity, but represents a small room decorated with statues, which is typical of Late Roman villas. She compares the sculptural decoration of Building Chi with the rich collection of ancient sculpture found in the Omega House on the northern slope of the Areopagus.
36 Schmaltz (1978), 94–96.
37 Meliades (1955), 48, pl. 4 β (shrine of Cybele); Spiro (1978), 7; Frantz (1988), 39, 43–45 (shrine of Cybele). Frantz saw this structure as a possible counterpart to one of the small rooms flanking the apse in House A on the Areopagus and to a small room in the west wing of House C with a shallow niche revetted with marble slabs (Frantz (1988), 39, 45).
38 Boyce (1937).
39 *Id.*, 10.

In most cases, the floor of the niche in the Pompeiian lararia is covered by a tile[40] or a slab of stone which projects slightly from the wall as a narrow shelf. This shelf came to provide room for the statuettes representing the gods and for offerings and lamps placed in front of them.[41] The wall niche could have the appearance of a miniature temple with an aedicula façade, or the domestic shrine could take the form of a niche "hollowed out of a cubical mass of masonry or formed by walls built on the top of a podium and supporting a roof above them."[42] The second type, the 'pseudo-aedicula', which is always surmounted by a pediment, appears to have been created for the lararia of the Imperial period.[43]

The altars of the Pompeiian lararia can be divided into two groups. First, there are the large permanent altars on the floor below or beside the shrine, and second, the small portable altars which could be placed within the shrine. Most of the permanent stone altars at Pompeii are of tufa;[44] others are built up of masonry. The large altars built of masonry were covered over with stucco, and they were either free-standing or built against a wall.[45] The altars usually had some provision on the top for the fire of sacrifice. The two bolsters of *ara pulvinata,* on each side, are frequently represented.[46] Others have a rectangular depression in the top[47] or a concave upper surface (only in altars of masonry). In many cases marks of fire and even of offerings could be discovered on the top of an altar at the time of the excavation. Small portable altars of various materials were more common than the permanent altars, but they could even be used together with the permanent altars. They are usually found in the niche, occasionally together with statuettes or lamps. These small altars were usually rectangular or cylindrical, but one type of altar was made of terracotta in the form of a vase with a circular foot and an opening in the top for incense.[48]

Apart from the usual lararia, there are some examples of the sacellum proper – a room destined and equipped for the service of a domestic cult.[49] These rooms were furnished with a niche, a permanent altar and benches for the worshippers. George Boyce suggested that there could have been an intermediate stage between the usual lararium and a true sacellum represented by shrines with altars and niches within special recesses built in one wall of the atrium.[50]

If the presumed domestic shrine of Building Chi is compared with the Pompeiian lararia, it can most favourably be compared to the lararia representing the pseudo-aedicula type and hollowed out of a cubical mass of masonry,[51] or to the shrines provided with a permanent stone altar.[52] The sacella proper with a permanent altar might be seen as

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40 Often the shelf consists of a piece of roof-tile, so placed that its flanges form raised rims on each side of the floor in the niche. The roof-tile could have been coated with stucco to make it resemble the bolsters on the top of an *ara pulvinata* and to give the roof-tile the outlines of an altar (Boyce (1937), 10; see for example no. 130, p. 42, pl. 3,1).

41 Boyce (1937), 10.

42 *Id.*, 12–13; compare no. 162, pl. 30,1.

43 *Id.*, 13.

44 Compare *id.*, no. 167, pl. 11,1.

45 Compare *id.*, no. 146, pl. 12,4.

46 Compare *id.*, no. 419, pl. 16,2.

47 Compare *id.*, no. 126, pl. 11,2 and no. 365, pl. 39,2.

48 *Id.*, 15–16.

49 Compare *id.*, no. 132 (pls. 40,3 and 40,4), no. 448 (pl. 40,2) and no. 459 (pl. 41,1).

50 *Id.*, 18; compare no. 71 (pl. 39,4), no. 212 (pl. 40,1) and no. 365 (pl. 31,2).

51 Compare *id.*, no. 162, pl. 30,1.

52 Compare especially *id.*, no. 419, p. 85, pl. 16,2, placed in the corner beside the door to the kitchen.

another group of comparative domestic shrines, assuming that the small room in Building Chi is a private cult room. If the relief base was recut to an altar and not to a statue base in its new location, it could be compared with some stone altars featuring a similar rectangular cutting.[53] The Pompeiian comparisons suggest that the rectangular cutting in the relief base could be connected with an altar rather than with a statue base, since a statue in the niche would have prevented the sight of the votive reliefs set into the northern wall.

Some Private Shrines in Britain and Gaul

The Pompeiian domestic lararia are from the Early Roman period, but later examples for private shrines have been found in Britain[54] and France. The excavations at Verulamium[55] in Britain brought to light two structures of masonry at the rear of one of the timber-framed shops at the site. The first one was a cupboard-like form, measuring 1 metre by 0.75 metre, with painted plaster covering the interior. The second structure of similar size adopted its side-wall as its own. The shops were destroyed by fire in about A.D. 155. Sheppard Frere suggested that these structures had a religious purpose, as was attested by a votive deposit buried in the floor when the second structure was built. George Boon,[56] following Frere, points out the similarity between the Verulamium structure and a similar structure at Silchester which consisted of a pedestal or plinth located axially towards the west side of small room (about 5.5 metres deep and 3 metres wide), and of steps rising between side-walls to a platform. Such a platform appears to have existed in the third phase at Verulamium, where a line of flint-work running along the front of the two cupboard-like structures seems to have been a step.[57] Boon suggests that "the structures on the Silchester platform, and at Verulamium in its final phase, must have been suitably framed and probably decorated too, perhaps sculptured, and would originally have been coloured: some of the flat-topped bas-reliefs (...) might find a place as backgrounds in shrines, while others, gable-topped, might be set into a wall complete in themselves."[58] As an example he mentions the interior arrangement of a lararium of the 'Casa delle Parete Rosse' at Pompeii, where six bronze figurines (Aesculapius, Apollo, Hercules, Mercury, and two lares with a bronze lamp in front) could give a greater visual effect when seen against the gaily-coloured background representing a Genius and dancing lares.

Although the Verulamium structures were built far away from Greece, in Roman Britain, they have certain similarities with the recess in Building Chi. Both are formed by

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53 Compare *id.*, no. 126, p. 41–42, pl. 11,2 and no. 365, p. 76, pl. 39,2.

54 See Boon (1983), 33–55.

55 Frere (1972), 57–60, pls. XVII–XIX; Boon (1983), 33.

56 Boon (1983), 36.

57 *Ibid.* Among other possible domestic shrines, which Boon mentions, are a stone base in a room of the commandant's house at Segontium, a small room with a moulded plinth set against its north wall at Catterick, a chamber with a stone head on a low-stepped platform at Caerwent and an apsidal niche with projecting pilasters rising from the floor of the south wall of Room 2 in Building I on the Colliton Park site at Dorchester. A small shrine belonging to Building XII in Housesteads featured a stone relief of three *Genii Cucullatii* across its front. Unfortunately not one of these Romano-British domestic shrines was preserved intact. (*Id.*, 36, 38, 40.)

58 *Id.*, 43, 45.

walls of masonry built on the top of a podium.[59] Both show remains of plaster coating; in the recess of Building Chi these could be seen within the niche above the repositioned relief base (fig. 18). But as the superstructure of such shrines as those at Verulamium and at Silchester were not preserved, it is impossible to draw further comparisons between the Romano-British examples and the presumed private cult room of Building Chi.

A more important however as an example of the domestic cult practised in a Roman villa is the large villa of Montmaurin in Haute-Garonne, France.[60] (Fig. 34) In Montmaurin the cult of the domestic hearth was practised in connection with the cults of the Father-God and the Mother-Goddess. In the room numbered 59, a rectangular hearth, which was covered by a marble plaque, represented the primitive hearth with a sacrificial pit under the marble covering.[61] Georges Fouet thinks that the chthonic character of the domestic cult in Montmaurin was indicated by the pit within the hearth of this room and by another sacrificial pit discovered under the floor. A third pit found in the room numbered 38 under the floor of the atrium was dated by the pottery and two coins no earlier than the third quarter of the fourth century A.D.[62] The large altar of masonry in the room numbered 139 by the main entrance represents the development of the offering table, as it was enlarged and raised for a more general use.[63] The next phase was the construction of a polygonal temple in the 'Court of Honour',[64] which created more public surroundings for the cult practice. In all instances, however, the villa was protected against the evil powers by performing the rites that purified the weak points of the building, the entrance and the left side.

Fouet connects the female goddess of Montmaurin, who would have been represented in Montmaurin by a votive altar of Tutela and two statues of Venus, to Vesta,[65] and further to Isis in Egypt and Cybele at Rome. When at Rome Cybele was the companion of Jupiter, and in Montmaurin the two gods honoured in the sanctuary, Tutela and Jupiter[66]

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59 For the structure at Verulamium, see Boon (1983), pl. I. For a podium-like structure in Building Chi, see fig. 17, beneath the recess with the relocated relief base.

60 Fouet (1969).

61 *Id.*, 151, 153–154, 173. There, in connection with the general entrance to the large villa, a corridor no. 60 opened into a small room (no. 59), measuring 3.6 m. by 2.3 m., that featured a rectangular hearth, 0.8 m. deep and 0.95 m. wide. This hearth, built of masonry, was covered by a marble plaque and bricks in the middle. Fouet emphasised that this hearth was not built for ordinary use, which was attested by the discovery of a 60 cm. deep pit under the marble plaque. The pit was filled with charcoal, animal bones, pottery fragments, and three coins, respectively of Tiberius, Trajan and Philippus. The existence of the pit under the marble plaque indicates a cult of the domestic hearth known already from the La Tène -period in France.

62 *Id.*, 173–174.

63 *Id.*, 154–155, 173. This altar was located in the small northern room (no. 139, measuring 3.5 m. by 3.8 m.) flanking the main entrance of the villa-area. This room featured a rectangular altar of masonry (1.65 m. wide and 1.2 m. deep) against its north-eastern wall. Even this altar was originally covered by a marble plaque. Near the western corner of the altar, a small jug including a coin of Severus Alexander was found buried in the earthen floor of the room.

64 *Id.*, 163–168, 173. The last phase of the polygonal temple in the 'Court of Honour' was dated to the beginning of the second half of the fourth century. The temple was identified by Fouet as the official religious centre of the estate, as is indicated by the votive altars to Tutela and Jupiter found in the area.

65 Fouet suggested that Tutela was identified with Vesta, the personification of the fire and of the earth, in Montmaurin and in the whole area. As in Rome common sacrifices were made to Vesta and Jupiter, similarly the votive altar of Jupiter found in Montmaurin would suggest the veneration of the celestial god; this connection of the celestial god and the mother goddess of the earth is attested in several other places. (*Id.*, 166–167.)

66 Tutela and Jupiter were represented in Montmaurin by two votive altars, which both have been found in the temple area. (*Id.*, 159–160.)

or Venus and Helios-Serapis[67], would have represented the celestial and subterranean powers protecting the living and the dead.[68] This suggestion could shed more light on the interpretation of the sculpture decoration of the small room in Building Chi: the two votive reliefs in the recess could likewise have represented the two opposite powers, the Father-God and the Mother-Goddess.

The position of the reliefs representing the Mother of the Gods and the male god is secondary on the right side of the recess, above the relief base. There might have been other sculpture or wall paintings on the other walls of the niche, but the left wall and the back wall were destroyed so that there is no way of telling if other sculpture or wall paintings really existed. And yet, the existence of the two reliefs dedicated to these two divinities, above a recut relief base, indicates that the small room might have had a religious function. I shall discuss the sculpture decoration of this recess more thoroughly later in this article (Chapter VI.), together with the other archaeological finds from Building Chi.

IV. The Interpretation of Building Sigma

The entrance to the above-mentioned small room with the reliefs was from a corridor connected to the northern entrance of the whole building complex (fig. 17). The northern entrance was later closed off by another construction (Building Sigma in fig. 11; see fig. 20). This construction, which was only partly excavated in 1955, included two rooms that had a common western wall made of large ancient blocks (figs. 20, 21). The wall was distinguished by a niche that was built in the north-western corner of the southern room of Building Sigma. This niche was covered with a marble arch decorated with rosettes, of the same type as those to be found in the Theatre of Dionysus and in the Roman Agora in Athens dated to the first century A.D. Below the marble arch in the niche there was a well covered with a round hollow stone. A fragment of an unfluted column with an Ionic base of Hymettian marble was beside the niche in the south-western corner of the northern room. A similar column was found in the south-eastern corner of the room. (Figs. 20, 21)

Building Sigma has usually been connected with Building Chi.[69] Marie Spiro, however, has rightly emphasised that Building Sigma, which she dates to the end of the fifth century A.D. using the mosaics in the two rooms as evidence, cannot be associated with the earlier building, because it closed the entrance of the large villa and because its floor level is at least 1.50 metres higher (compare fig. 20).[70] I could add to her evidence by noting that the wall construction in Building Sigma is different from the wall construction in the villa.

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67 A bronze head of Helios-Serapis from the central court (no. 90), could represent, as Fouet suggested, Zeus-Helios-Serapis, a connection of the celestial and the chthonic god, not necessarily a proof for a separate cult of Helios-Serapis in Montmaurin. (*Id.*, 168.)

68 *Id.*, 176.

69 Most recently, Frantz (1988), 44, note 179; pl. 36 b.

70 Spiro (1978), 11–12.

V. The Mosaics in Building Chi and in Building Sigma

As far as dating is concerned, one of the most important details in Building Chi and Building Sigma are the delicately composed mosaic floors. There is a large fragmentary mosaic in the central hall of Building Chi and another, semicircular mosaic in the apse which features the same decorative motif as the broad border of the mosaic in the central hall (see figs. 12, 14, 22).[71] The mosaics are in pink, blue, orange, yellow, black and white. The central mosaic represents a large field with a two-strand interlace of larger and smaller circles and ellipses (see figs. 12, 22, 23). The preserved circles are filled with a cross, a rosette with six lanceolate leaves, knots of Solomon and a wheel motif. The yellow interstices between the circles and the ellipses are inscribed with blueish squares. The broad flanking border with an imbrication pattern is separated from the central field by a narrow border of white and black triangles (see fig. 24). The mosaic in the apse has a framing border with a two-strand interlace of small circles and the central field has an imbrication pattern with scales (see fig. 15).

The preserved mosaics in Building Sigma are divided into two rooms (fig. 21).[72] The southern room has a simple decoration with a polychrome curvilinear design (figs. 25, 26). The colours are light blue, pink, black and white, with occasional yellow. The quadrangular pattern of the two-strand chain distinguishes cross-shaped areas with broad arms, and the centre of each cross is depicted with a simple rectangle. This central pattern has a plain narrow inner border and a broader outer border with small rectangles similar to those represented in the central field. These small rectangles are separated from one another by a network of straight lines.

Between the two rooms of Building Sigma there is a broad threshold decorated with a mosaic which is inscribed with an imbrication pattern. The mosaic in the northern room has a broad border with two rows of intersecting circles which form quatrefoils and concave-sided squares (see fig. 21). The central mosaic field in the northern room of Building Sigma represents a three-strand interlace of large alternating squares and circles which are filled with geometric motifs,[73] knots of Solomon, chequer-work, stylised rosettes with six lanceolate leaves, zigzags, wheels, squares set on edge, looped squares set on edge and a circular two-strand guilloche.

Comparisons in Athens

There are three Athenian locations comparable to the mosaic in the central hall of Building Chi: firstly, the mosaic in the northern *ambulatorium* of the tetraconch church in the centre of the Library of Hadrian (figs. 4 b, 10); secondly, the mosaic from Euripidou Street 67, now displayed in the courtyard of the Byzantine museum; and thirdly, the mosaic in the nymphaeum of a large villa on the southern side of the National Garden.

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71 For the earlier descriptions of the mosaics see Spiro (1978), 5–10, pls. 6–8 and especially Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), 121–122, pls. 178–181, where the author has published the sketches on the mosaics that John Travlos made during the excavations in 1955.

72 See Spiro (1978), 11–14, pl. 9 and Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), 122–123, pls. 182–184.

73 These can only be seen in the field drawings of John Travlos, which were published in Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), pls. 182, 183 α, β.

These four mosaics have been dated differently by the scholars. The mosaic in the central hall of Building Chi has usually been dated to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[74] Alison Frantz mentions the mosaics of the central hall and Building Sigma together, and suggests that the main part of the mosaics could hardly be dated earlier than the middle of the fifth century.[75]

The first of the similar mosaics in Athens, the mosaic in the tetraconch, has generally been dated to the first decade of the fifth century[76] because of the inscription beside the entrance of the Library of Hadrian. This honorary inscription[77] is a dedication to Herculius, the Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum around A.D. 407–412, who is usually believed to have built the tetraconch. Alison Frantz compares the tetraconch mosaics to the mosaics in Stobi, which were dated by Ruth Kolarik, and wishes to date the tetraconch to the second quarter of the fifth century.[78]

The second comparison for the large mosaic in Building Chi is the mosaic of Euripidou Street 67 which has been dated to the first half of the fifth century.[79] The third comparison, the mosaic on the southern side of the National Garden, which is very similar to the mosaic in the tetraconch, has been dated to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[80]

One of the mosaics in question is placed in a church; in the tetraconch in the middle of the Library of Hadrian (fig. 10). The date of the tetraconch is crucial for the dating of the whole mosaic group.[81] The above-mentioned honorary inscription dedicated to the Praetorian Prefect Herculius has been used as dating evidence and connected with the construction of the tetraconch.[82] However, it seems improbable that the tetraconch could have been built by Herculius, because the inscription beside the library entrance was dedicated to Herculius by a pagan sophist Plutarchus, who most likely would not have honoured the builder of a Christian church. Therefore, the construction of the tetraconch must have taken place after the sophist Plutarchus made the dedication to Herculius, that is after the year A.D. 412.

One motif in the mosaic floor of the southern *ambulatorium* of the tetraconch – a panel of intersecting circles with lozenges at the centres – has a counterpart in a mosaic in the rebuilt Metroön in the Agora.[83] Both mosaics have a simple running ivy tendril in the border, but in the tetraconch the ivy tendril border was separated from the panel of intersecting circles by a border of alternating triangles and another border with a two-strand guilloche, suggesting a slightly more developed style. Numismatic evidence gives

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74 Meliades (1955), 48 (date for Building Chi *ca.* A.D. 400); Travlos (1960), 132, 134, fig. 83 (between the years A.D. 400 and 410); Spiro (1978), 5–10, pls. 6–8 (early fifth century); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), 121–122, pls. 179–181 (first quarter of the fifth century).

75 Frantz (1988), 44.

76 See, for example, Spiro (1978), 14–26, pls. 12–23 and Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 61, p. 118–121, pls. 174–177 (for the date see Asemakopoulou-Atzaka's note 122).

77 *IG* II/III^2, no. 4224 (no. **31** in Erkki Sironen's paper).

78 Frantz (1988), 73. More about the Stobi mosaics below.

79 Spiro (1978), 64–66, pls. 69–70 (the first half of the fifth century); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 63, p. 123–124, pls. 185–186 (the first quarter of the fifth century); Frantz (1988), 68 (before the year A.D. 450).

80 Spiro (1978), 54–58, pls. 58–61 (the first decade of the fifth century); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 64, p. 124–125, pls. 187–189 (the first quarter of the fifth century).

81 I have discussed the tetraconch mosaics and their date more thoroughly in my article "The So-Called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens".

82 For example, Spiro (1978) and Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987) (see above).

83 Thompson (1937), 195–202; Frantz (1988), 4, 25, 49, 53, 58–61, 121–122, 129–131.

a date after around A.D. 400 for the mosaic floor in the Metroön.[84] The connection to this mosaic indicates a fifth century date for the tetraconch mosaics. The *terminus post quem* from the inscription and the more developed iconography of the tetraconch mosaics would suggest a later date however, possibly the second quarter of the fifth century. And yet this cannot be the date for the whole group of similar mosaics described above, including the mosaics in the central hall of Building Chi, because the other mosaics in the tetraconch have a more complicated design, including a vase and floral motifs. It is possible that the mosaic in the central hall of Building Chi is the oldest in the group, where all the mosaics represent a central field inscribed with a two-strand interlace, and that the mosaic in the villa-nymphaeum in the southern part of the National Garden and the mosaic from Euripidou Street 67 was made later. But all three were probably made during the first quarter of the fifth century.

Examples from Illyricum

The study of the well-dated mosaics in Stobi supports the suggested date for the tetraconch mosaics, that is the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. The Stobi mosaics have been studied, among others, by Ernst Kitzinger,[85] Blaga Aleksova,[86] Momcilo Petrovski,[87] Carolyn Snively[88] and Ruth Kolarik.[89] The best comparison for the tetraconch mosaics is provided by the mosaics belonging to the second phase of the Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi. These mosaics may quite firmly be dated to the first half of the fifth century A.D., as Ruth Kolarik[90] has stated. This would give an indication for the date of the tetraconch mosaics representing similar geometrical patterns in the central fields and in the borders, a vessel figure in a prominent place in the church, and good workmanship generally. The tetraconch mosaics are maybe slightly more regular in design and neatly laid than the second phase mosaics, but they are not so elaborately established as the mosaics in the first phase of the Stobi Basilica built above the Old Episcopal Basilica sometime after the mid-fifth century A.D. This would support a dating for the tetraconch mosaics to the second quarter of the fifth century, as the first phase of the mosaics in the Episcopal Basilica has a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 425–450 provided by two coins,[91] both issued in the reign of Valentinian III and Theodosius II, which were sealed beneath the new mosaic floor after the destruction of the Old Episcopal Basilica and before the construction of the Episcopal Basilica proper.

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84 See Frantz (1988), 59: the latest four coins, of Theodosius I, under the mosaic floor were in fresh condition.

85 Kitzinger (1946).

86 Aleksova (1982); *ead.* (1982–1983); *ead.* (1986).

87 Kolarik and Petrovski (1975).

88 Snively (1979).

89 Kolarik and Petrovski (1975); Kolarik (1980), 180 ff.; *ead.* (1984), 451 ff. (a revised illustrated version of the former article); *ead.* (1981); *ead.* (1987).

90 *Ead.* (1987), 303.

91 For the new date of the Old Episcopal Basilica and the first phase of the Episcopal Basilica, see *id.*, and especially p. 303, note 17, where she refers to the two coins, nos. 74–428 and 75–104, found beneath the first phase floor of the Episcopal Basilica.

The mosaics in the other building under discussion, Building Sigma, have been dated to the middle of the fifth century or later.[92] Alison Frantz sees the mosaics in the central hall of Building Chi and in Building Sigma as a complex and she considers them as being slightly later in construction than the mosaics of the tetraconch, that is from the third quarter of the fifth century.[93]

The mosaic in the northern room of Building Sigma is comparable to those found in Athens, Thebes and Epidaurus. The motif in the central field of the mosaic in Building Sigma represents an interlace of alternating squares and circles filled with geometric motifs, and in other comparative mosaics the squares and circles have been filled with geometric patterns or birds. There are two comparable mosaics in Athens, one in Agios Thomas near the Stoa of Attalus and the other in a nymphaeum found in the corner of Nikes and Apollonos Streets.[94] Both mosaics included squares filled with representations of birds. The two found in Thebes are near Agios Ioannes Kaloktenos and in Pindarou Street 29.[95] These mosaics have geometric motifs inscribed in squares and circles similar to those of the mosaic in Building Sigma, but some of the squares are filled with the representations of birds.

The Late Roman villa in the Asklepieion of Epidaurus had large mosaics in two rooms.[96] The smaller mosaic is comparable to those in the rooms on the north side of the vestibule of the Athenian tetraconch. The difference is that the smaller mosaic in Epidaurus, with its pattern of a central octagon surrounded by squares and diamonds, has birds inside the squares, whereas in the tetraconch the preserved squares surrounding the central octagon were inscribed with geometric motifs and flanked by geometricised floral decoration. The central field of the larger mosaic in Epidaurus, however, belongs to the group of mosaics with alternating squares and circles and these are filled with purely geometric designs as in the mosaic of Building Sigma.

It may be that the pattern with an interlace of alternating squares and circles, used in the mosaic of the northern room of Building Sigma, is later than the pattern with an interlace of circles and ellipses represented in the central hall of Building Chi, because the squares in comparable square-and-circle mosaics in Athens and Thebes are often filled with organic motifs. Birds and other organic motifs do not appear in the pattern of circles and ellipses which is typical of the earlier mosaics with an interlace pattern. Therefore, a date

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92 Spiro (1978), 11–14, fig. 9 (between the middle or second half of the fifth and the sixth century). Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 62 α, p. 122–123, especially note 127 (before the middle of the fifth century).

93 Frantz (1988), 44.

94 For Agios Thomas, see Lazarides (1971), 63, fig. 1; Chatzedakes (1973–1974), 184–192, plans 2–5, pl. 127 α (Late Roman or Early Christian); Sodini (1980), 162 (the beginning of the fifth century); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 67, p. 127–128, pls. 195–197 (the second quarter of the fifth century). For Nikes and Apollonos, see Threpsiades (1952–1953) (the beginning of the fifth century); Spiro (1978), 60–64, pls. 63–68 (the second half of the fifth century); Sodini (1980), 162 (the beginning of the fifth century); Kolarik (1981) (the second half of the fifth century); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 68, p. 128–129, pls. 198–199 (the second quarter of the fifth century).

95 For the mosaic in Agios Ioannes Kaloktenos, see Lazarides (1973); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 90, p. 152–153, pls. 245–246 (the second quarter of the fifth century). For the mosaics in Pindarou Street 29, see Lazarides (1973–1974), 455–459, plans 1–3, pls. 294–296 (fourth or fifth century A.D.); Touchais (1980), 631, fig. 108; Sodini (1984), 380–381, fig. 31 (the beginning of the fifth century); Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 91, p. 153–154, pls. 247, 248, 249 α (the second quarter of the fifth century).

96 Bibliography and illustrations in Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1987), no. 11, p. 61–63, pls. 54–55. The author has dated the mosaics to the second quarter of the fifth century.

in the middle or the third quarter of the fifth century could be proposed for Building Sigma.

Jean-Pierre Sodini detects a difference between the mosaics of churches and profane buildings. He interprets the mosaics in the tetraconch as aniconic and some of the above-mentioned mosaics as mosaics with floral and figurative decoration (the mosaics in the villa-nymphaeum in the southern part of the National Garden, in Metroön, from Euripidou Street 67 and from the nymphaeum in Nikes and Apollonos Streets). The reason for the use of aniconic mosaics would not be the difference in time, but the demand of the clergy for aniconic mosaics in the tetraconch. As a comparison Sodini offers the mosaics in the basilica and the Late Roman villa in Epidaurus, where the mosaics of the villa include figurative motifs but the mosaics in the basilica are purely geometric. He compares this difference in the iconography of the Epidaurian mosaics to the iconography of mosaics in Asia Minor and Syria, where aniconic mosaics decorated religious buildings.[97]

Sodini's theory is not, however, applicable to Athens, because the mosaics in Metroön, in the villa-nymphaeum in the National Garden, from Euripidou Street 67 and in Building Chi are aniconic, as well the tetraconch mosaics, with the exception of a representation of a vase in the southern *ambulatorium*. And yet, these mosaics are stylistically analogous, which could indicate that they are nearly contemporary (see above), at least one of them decorating a private villa (*i.e.* Building Chi) and one to be found in a church.

A Relative Chronology

The mosaic in the semicircular nymphaeum (Nikes and Apollonos Streets) does include representations of birds, as well as the mosaic in Agios Thomas behind the Stoa of Attalus, but so do the mosaics that once decorated the basilica of Ilissus.[98] This poses problems for Sodini's explanation of aniconic mosaics as being the decoration of religious buildings in Athens. If, however, the existence and the non-existence of floral and figurative motifs can be explained according to chronology, as has generally been suggested,[99] this would give an explanation for a similar artistic programme in the mosaics of the churches and the profane buildings. With these chronological criteria, the first group of the above-discussed mosaics might include the mosaics with purely geometric or geometricised motifs in the Metroön, in Building Chi, from Euripidou Street 67, in the villa-nymphaeum in the National Garden and the tetraconch in Athens, and in the basilica in Epidaurus. The mosaics with an interlace of squares and circles inscribed with geometric motifs could form the second group (Building Sigma). The third group may consist of mosaics with an interlace of squares and circles filled with floral and organic motifs (Agios Thomas and Nikes and Apollonos Street in Athens, Agios Ioannes Kaloktenos and Pindarou Street 29 in Thebes). The mosaics in the villa at Epidaurus could belong to either of the last two groups, since the mosaic with squares and circles was filled with geometric motifs but the mosaic in the adjacent room included figures of

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97 Sodini (1984), 388.

98 For the basilica of Ilissus, see Soteriou (1919); *id.* (1929), 208–210; Chatzedakes (1951) and *id.* (1952); Sodini (1970), 702; Spiro (1978), 26–36, pls. 24–34; Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1984), 35; Frantz (1988), 73.

99 For example, Kitzinger (1965); Spiro (1978), LXI–LXV; Asemakopoulou-Atzaka (1984), 18–20, 35–36.

birds. The material at our disposal strongly suggests that Building Chi would predate Building Sigma; the previous dates to the first quarter and the latter to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

VI. Building Chi as a Possible Candidate for the 'House of Proclus'

The archaeological evidence and the location of Building Chi (compare fig. 27) reminded the excavators[100] of a passage in the biography of Proclus (Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29; cited above). Marinus says that the House of Proclus was pleasant for him for several reasons: his predecessors, Plutarchus and Syrianus, had lived there; it was near the Asklepieion and the temple of Dionysus; and it was visible and otherwise perceptible from the Acropolis of Athena. It seems reasonable, however, to interpret this passage in the overall context of writing. Marinus wrote this text as a eulogy to Proclus, where he praises the virtues and piety of Proclus, an indication of Proclus being the rightful follower of Plutarchus and Syrianus in the succession of heads of the Neoplatonic School. Marinus emphasises Proclus' connection with Plutarchus and Syrianus by the fact that Proclus lived in the same house as his predecessors. This house was located in the neighbourhood of the Sanctuary of Asclepius, close-by the Temple of Dionysus, and it was visible and also otherwise somehow manifest from the Acropolis of Athena.[101] In this context the passage describing the location of the 'House of Proclus', the centre of the Neoplatonic School at Athens, is determined by sacral, not simply topographical reference points.

It is remarkable that Marinus did not want to stress the Theatre of Dionysus nor mention the Odeum of Herodes Atticus as topographical pinpoints, even though these structures, or what was left of them, were during the fifth century A.D. probably still the best landmarks on the southern slope of the Acropolis. It is most likely that Marinus stressed in this passage the proximity of the house to the nearest important sanctuaries, to the temples of Asclepius, Dionysus and Athena and pointed out how close a contact the Neoplatonic School and Proclus had with Asclepius, Dionysus and Athena, the guardians of the School.

A date soon after Alaric's invasion in 396 was suggested for the construction of Building Chi,[102] but on presently available evidence it is impossible to propose a more exact date. If the house was built by Plutarchus, he would have been in his mature years by the time of the construction, since he lived to a great age and died in A.D. 432. Alison Frantz introduced the hypothesis that a smaller house built by Plutarchus was later greatly enlarged by Proclus, and possibly by his successors, as the significance of the Neoplatonic School increased.[103] That is a possibility, but Building Chi and Building Sigma seem to have been completely separated from each other: the photographs from the excavations in 1955 suggest that the southern wall of Building Sigma closed off the north-eastern entrance of Building Chi. (See above and compare figs. 12, 17, 20, 21)

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100 Meliades (1955), 48–49.

101 Compare the translation of Rosán above and Castrén (1991), 475.

102 Meliades (1955), 48, 50; *Ergon* 1955, 10–11.

103 Frantz (1988), 44. Ernst Kitzinger concurs with Frantz in the dating and in the hypothesis that the 'House of Proclus' was at first Plutarchus' but later greatly enlarged. (Frantz (1988), 44, note 179.)

The excavators of the 'House of Proclus' stated that Building Chi was abandoned in the sixth century, but it was impossible to give a more precise date.[104] The sixth century abandonment of Building Chi was taken as an indication of the effect of Justinian's edict in 529,[105] when the Emperor Justinian issued a general law forbidding the pagans to teach. According to the edict they should have let themselves be baptised or be expelled and leave their belongings behind.[106] The abandonment of the building was also connected with the closing of the Neoplatonic School after Justinian's edict. The existing archaeological testimony, however, provides no final proof for the effect of the law for Building Chi or the Neoplatonic School.

Sculpture Connected with Building Chi

The following two portrait heads have usually been connected with Building Chi to support the identification of Building Chi as the 'House of Proclus'. Firstly, the head of a philosopher[107] in the Acropolis Museum (fig. 29) has been interpreted as a representation of Plutarchus, the founder of the Neoplatonic School at Athens. Meliades was the first scholar to connect this head with Building Chi[108] and others have followed him.[109] This portrait cannot, however, be connected with Building Chi, because the information on the find-spot is unsubstantiated.[110] Another portrait head (fig. 28) that was found earlier in the Frankish wall on the southern slope of the Acropolis, was believed to have decorated Building Chi and thus support the view that the house was related to philosophy in some way.[111] It is possible, but not certain, that this fragmentary head comes from Building Chi.

The archaeological finds and the decoration of Building Chi show a deference towards art:[112] the small recess behind the central apse was decorated with reliefs, two other rooms had niches for statues and the central hall had mosaic floors (figs. 12, 17, 18). Parts of two statues were found during the excavations.[113] The first one is an Early Neronian portrait head[114] of a young man (fig. 30 a, b) that was originally inserted into a draped statue. The other is part of a large cult statue of Isis[115] from the second quarter of

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104 Meliades (1955), 47, 50; *Ergon* 1955, 11; Frantz (1988), 87, 91.

105 Meliades (1955), 50.

106 *CJ* I.5.18.4 (ed. Krüger (1959), 57) and I.11.10.2 (ed. Krüger (1959), 64); Alan Cameron (1969), 7–29. Gunnar af Hällström will present a paper on Justinian's edict in this publication.

107 Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 1313. Compare Dontas (1954–1955).

108 Meliades (1955), 49.

109 For example, Frantz (1965), 193 and *ead.* (1975), 32, fig. 6. See, however, *ead.* (1988), 44.

110 I am grateful to Dr. Judith Binder for pointing out this fact.

111 Meliades (1955), 49; Frantz (1988), 43–44, note 172. The head (Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 581), which comes from the southern slope of the Acropolis, has received different interpretations. Most scholars date this portrait, which has several replicas, to the third century A.D., but it has been identified also as Iamblichus, the famous scholar from the fourth century. Rodenwaldt, who dated the portrait type to the second half of the fourth century A.D., proposed that the portrait could represent one of the Neoplatonist teachers (Rodenwaldt (1919), 4, 8–9, 11–12, no. 2, pl. III). (More information about this portrait type in Voutiras (1981), 201–208, pls. 63–68.)

112 Oikonomides (1977), 11–12. Oikonomides wanted to see in the decoration further evidence for the Neoplatonic respect of art, but this kind of decoration is not unusual for large Late Roman villas.

113 Meliades (1955), 49.

114 Acropolis South Slope, inv. no. NAM 22.

115 Acropolis South Slope, inv. no. NAM 40. This statue has been discussed previously by Walker in her article (Walker (1979), 252–253, 257), and by Walters (1988), 7, note 14; 12, note 49; 15–16,

the first century A.D., which had been cut to form a bust and was found in the filling of the room β, 2.8 metres below the surface.[116]

The representations of the Mother of the Gods and of a male god (possibly Asclepius) in the niche of the small room as well as the bust of Isis could indicate that the owners of the house honoured pagan gods. Furthermore, this could point to a connection with philosophy and the Neoplatonic syncretism. As a matter of fact, Proclus honoured the Mother of the Gods and purified himself by the rites of the Great Mother every month. Proclus wrote a book on the Mother of the Gods and a hymn to Isis. He healed the daughter of Archiadas, Asclepigeneia, with the help of Asclepius, and the same god gave him relief from his illnesses.[117] Proclus had a close relationship with Athena, who had taken him under her special protection and turned him toward philosophy advising him to attend the lectures at Athens.[118] His familiarity with Athena was shown clearly when her cult statue had been taken away from the Parthenon by the Christians. The text states: "For it seemed to the philosopher that a beautiful woman appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to prepare his house quickly 'because the Lady of Athens wishes to come to live with you'."[119]

There exists, however, the possibility that neither the statue of Isis nor the Early Neronian portrait head belong to the original decoration of Building Chi. Both of them may have come into the area after the destruction of the building, as they were both found in the filling of the rooms. The Neronian portrait was found at the eastern end of Building Chi, where the original walls had been destroyed by the Mediaeval construction, and the fragment of the statue of Isis was found in the filling of the room β.[120]

Further Evidence for the 'Neoplatonic Nature' of Building Chi

Among the other finds from Building Chi was part of an inscription (fig. 33), which has been deciphered as a further evidence for the Neoplatonic nature of the villa. The inscription reads:[121]

Εἰ σοφίην ὁρᾷ α [
εἰ βίοτον [
ἥδε γὰρ [

63, 70. Walker was the first scholar to publish information on the statue in her exhaustive study on the South Slope Sanctuary of Isis. She suggested a connection between the Isis fragment and the Sanctuary of Isis on the southern slope: the cult statue could have decorated the Hadrianic naiskos. Walters compared the fragmentary Isis statue with cult statues of Isis and with the series of Isis reliefs from Athens in her excellent study on the Attic grave reliefs representing women in the dress of Isis, and she suggested a date in the 40's of the first century after Christ for the Isis statue found in Building Chi (p. 16 and 63).

116 I will publish more detailed descriptions of these two statues separately, together with a third statue that was found in 1955 in the Erechtheiou Street.

117 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 19, 29–31 and 33 (ed. Masullo (1985)); transl. Rosán (1949), 23–24, 32.

118 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 6, 9 (ed. Masullo (1985)); Rosán (1949), 16–18.

119 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 30 (ed. Masullo (1985)); transl. Rosán (1949), 30. Henig (1986), 166; Frantz (1988), 58.

120 I am grateful to Professor G. Dontas for this important information.

121 Acropolis South Slope, inv. no. NAM 24. Meliades (1955), 49; Peek (1980), 36, no. 38. This inscription is, according to Erkki Sironen, probably a private monument, possibly a sepulchral epigram from the later fifth century, but not necessarily connected with philosophy.

This slab was found in the filling of the room δ,[122] which does not provide further information of the original location of the inscription and its possible connection with Building Chi.

The most interesting find during the excavations of the year 1955 came to light in the westernmost room (fig. 11, room β) 3.5 metres below the surface: it is the grave of an animal with several votive offerings (fig. 31). The bone analysis showed that the animal was a year-old piglet, about 0.7 metre long. The votive offerings included seven ceramic cups with two handles, a simple jug with one handle and an oil lamp decorated with a running winged Eros (fig. 32 a), which was dated by the excavators to the fifth century A.D. The most spectacular find was the iron knife still in place in the neck of the piglet.[123]

The jug had a flat base, a wide neck, a broad strap handle and an everted lip; the body was neatly wheel-ridged. This type of jug was dated by Henry Robinson to the fifth century A.D.[124] The oil lamp[125] represents an Asia Minor lamp with a fishtail in the handle-end (fig. 32 b), a shape which was copied by the Athenian lampmakers at the end of the fifth century. This lamp is an Athenian imitation of an Asia Minor lamp and could be dated to the end of the fifth century. There is a good comparison for this lamp in the Agora collections (L 795)[126] which has a similar disk representation, but the rim is different and the Agora lamp is of clumsier workmanship.

An important detail could be the fact that the lamp in the piglet grave was unused, which suggests that the lamp was buried unused with the sacrified pig; it was not burnt in the sacrificial rite. The disk representation in the lamp, however, does not explain the nature of the piglet sacrifice. Therefore I shall go through literary evidence and suggest some solutions to this problem.

This votive offering of a pig has similarities with the offerings made during the Eleusinian mysteries and the offerings given to Demeter Thesmophorus. Pigs were offered in two ways at the Thesmophoria: in the first the animal is not stabbed but hurled into the crevices of the earth to rot. In the second kind of offering the piglet is slain in a blood sacrifice.[127] The piglet grave does not, however, represent either of these, but it is a combination of the two: the pig was stabbed with a knife, the blood was allowed to flow for the gods and the animal was buried intact in the ground with offerings. The problem in combining the piglet grave with the Thesmophoria is that Thesmophoria was an event

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122 That is the room to the west of the central hall featuring an exedra with three niches.

123 Meliades (1955), 49, pl. 8.

124 Robinson (1959). For comparisons, see M 301 (P 9790), 112, pl. 30 (early 5th c.) and M 322 (P 9786), 114, pl. 31 (5th c.).

125 Acropolis South Slope, inv. no. ΝΑΛ 258. (Figs. 32 a, b)
L. 0.085 m.; W. 0.06 m.; H. 0.029 m. Disk diam. 0.04 m. Intact, unused. Hard clay with small black and white intrusions: light red 2,5 YR 6/6 – red 2,5 YR 5/6 (Munsell Soil Color Charts, Baltimore 1975). Disk: winged Eros running left, holding a large fish (?) in the right hand, two narrow raised framing rings, two filling-holes. Rim: vine (two leaves flanking the handle, four clusters), tendrils between leaves and clusters begin from the disk edge. Nozzle: raised edge around wick-hole, nozzle angle 167°. Double grooves set off underside of nozzle. Handle: solid, 2 grooves above, ending in sketchy fishtail. Base: *planta pedis* within a broad raised ring (diam. 2.9 cm.), centre concave. Taken from non-joining moulds: the upper half is larger than the lower half. An Athenian imitation of an Asia Minor lamp.
Compare: Menzel (1954), no. 629, p. 97, fig. 80,5, from Miletus; Miltner (1937), no. 487, p. 126, pl. IV; Perlzweig (1961), no. 352, p. 101, pl. 11 (Asia Minor lamp) and no. 2381, p. 173, pl. 37 (local imitation).

126 Perlzweig (1961), no. 2381, p. 173, pl. 37; she dated the lamp to the fifth century A.D.

127 Detienne (1989), 133–135.

for women only.[128] Therefore a Thesmophorian rite as such could not have been performed in a private villa in Athens. On the other hand, the Eleusinian Sanctuary was in ruins; could they have been performing the rites of the Mysteries?

The Emperor Julian and Neoplatonic Syncretism

If, however, the offering was associated with the cult of Demeter, it might be reasonable to suppose that it could have had a connection with the cult of the Mother of the Gods, as the *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*,[129] written by Julian the Apostate, attests of the connection of these female goddesses: "(...) she [*i.e.* the Mother of the Gods] was that very Deo whom they worship, and Rhea and Demeter too." Further on Julian specifies:[130] "(...) the most holy and secret Mysteries of Deo and the Maiden are celebrated when the sun is in the sign of Libra (...) At any rate the Athenians celebrate the Mysteries of Deo twice in the year (...)" The cult of the Mother of the Gods and Attis was combined with the cult of Demeter and Persephone among the Greeks and this may explain the special chthonic nature of the piglet sacrifice. Magna Mater and Demeter are represented together even in two Athenian taurobolic altars[131] of the late fourth century A.D. which represent enthroned Cybele and Demeter flanked by Persephone and Iacchus.

The Emperor Julian, a famous Neoplatonist himself, accords special attention to the use of pigs in sacred rites in the same hymn where he expresses a Neoplatonist interpretation[132] of the cult of the Great Mother: "Birds, for example, we may eat, except only those few which are commonly held sacred, and ordinary four-footed animals, except the pig. This animal is banned as food during the sacred rites because by its shape and way of life, and the very nature of its substance – for its flesh is impure and coarse – it belongs wholly to the earth. And therefore men came to believe that it was an acceptable offering to the gods of the underworld. For this animal does not look up at the sky, not only because it has no such desire, but because it is so made that it can never look upwards. These then are the reasons that have been given by the divine ordinance for abstinence from such food as we ought to renounce."

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128 See Näsström (1990), 98–99.

129 Julian, *Oratio V* (Hymn to the Mother of the Gods), 159 B: "...ὡς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δηὼ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Δημήτηρ." (Loeb ed. (1980), transl. Wright, 442–443.)

130 *Id.*, 173 A, B: "...τελεῖται γὰρ περὶ τὸν ζυγὸν Δηοῖ καὶ Κόρῃ τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια... δὶς γοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Δηοῖ τελοῦσι τὰ μυστήρια...". (Loeb ed. (1980), 482–485.)

131 National Museum, inv. no. 1746 (*IG* II/III^2, no. 4841) altar dedicated to Attis and Rhea by Archelaos, *kleidouchos* of Hera at Argos, fourth century A.D; National Museum, inv. no. 1747 (*IG* II/III^2, no. 4842) altar dedicated by Musonius in A.D. 386; Duthoy (1969), 1, 11–12, no. 6. For further bibliography, see Frantz (1988), 19, note 32 and 33; p. 50–51.

132 Julian, *Oratio V*, 177 B–C: "...ὄρνισιν οὖν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὓς ἱεροὺς εἶναι πάντῃ συμβέβηκε, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἔξω τοῦ χοίρου. τοῦτον δὲ ὡς χθόνιον πάντη μορφῇ τε καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ. περιττωματικός τε γὰρ καὶ παχὺς τὴν σάρκα· τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττει τροφῆς. φίλον γὰρ εἶναι πεπίστευται θῦμα τοῖς χθονίοις θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότως. ἀθέατον γάρ ἐστιν οὐρανοῦ τουτὶ τὸ ζῷον, οὐ μόνον οὐ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πεφυκὸς ἀναβλέψαι ποτέ. τοιαύτας μὲν δὴ αἰτίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποχῆς ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ εἴρηκεν ὁ θεῖος θεσμός·". (Loeb ed. (1980), 494–497.)

Remarks on Blood Sacrifices

Some Neoplatonists, for example Porphyrius, did not approve of blood sacrifices.[133] Marinus, however, tells that Proclus "especially refused to eat anything that had life, although whenever there was an occasion which imperatively demanded it, he would taste a little meat *for the sake of the rite*."[134] (Italics by the author) In my opinion, this seems to indicate that the Neoplatonists of the fifth century even approved of blood sacrifices whenever the occasion demanded this particular rite. The text of Julian[135] gives another point of view: pigs were an appropriate offering for the gods of the underworld, because in the nature of their substance they belong wholly to the earth.

The possible connection between the piglet grave and the cult of the Mother of the Gods, who is represented in the votive relief in the small room of Building Chi, could perhaps be attested by the identification of the Great Mother with Demeter and Gaia the Earth Mother all of whom have a chthonic character: the blood of the piglet was let in the sacrifice and the animal may have been buried with the grave offerings as a gift for the earth and the Great Goddess. The use of the blood of a pig, which was sacred to Demeter, in a rite of purification might have produced a mystic connection with the worshipper and his god.[136] Arthur Fairbanks suggested that men could have sought to remove the cause of some god's anger by using the blood of a pig in mystic sacrifices. In mystic sacrifices to Demeter and Persephone the pig was used to 'purify' the worshipper, as the blood of the animal sacred to the moon-goddess Hecate, the dog, was smeared on those who needed purification, to consecrate them to Hecate.[137]

Another comparison for the piglet sacrifice is given by the analogous offerings made in the Roman ceremonies of *Terminalia*, the feast for the god Terminus.[138] The blood sacrifice had an important role in the ceremony of setting the boundary stone of a building.[139] The sacrificial animal was killed and the blood poured into a pit in the ground. The use of honey, wine, crops and incense was attached to this ceremony of *Terminalia*. S. Eitrem emphasised that in this ritual the animal was not dismembered, but the blood was poured directly into the pit that was used for the boundary stone.[140] He believed, though, that the whole animal was burnt in the pit and the libations were made after that. An expiatory sacrifice was likewise given to the local genii and family spirits when someone moved into the house or returned from a longer journey.[141]

Sacrificial Banquets

The offerings in the piglet grave of Building Chi included seven cups and a pot, which could come from a sacrificial banquet held in the villa, perhaps in the large hall with the triclinium including seven niches (fig. 11). The number of cups indicates that there were

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133 Näsström (1990), 76.
134 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 19 (ed. Masullo (1985)); transl. Rosán (1949), 23.
135 See above, Julian, *Oratio V*, 177 B–C (Loeb ed. (1980)).
136 Fairbanks (1900), 256.
137 *Id.*, 256–257.
138 Eitrem (1915), 430–432 and Rose (1970).
139 Eitrem (1915), 430.
140 *Ibid.*
141 *Id.*, 431–432.

seven participants in the banquet, and this lends support to my suggestion that a semicircular bench including seven segments was used for the banquet in the large apse of the central hall (fig. 14).

Even if the piglet sacrifice is not directly connected with the religious customs of the Neoplatonists, it does, however, together with the statuary decoration of the building attest to the fact that the owners of the villa respected the old traditions. The reliefs representing the enthroned Mother of the Gods and an offering to an enthroned bearded male god (figs. 17, 18), as well as the statue of Isis, if it belonged to the original decoration of the villa, belonged to a collection of pagan sculpture in the house. The owners could have been either pagans who worshipped the old gods, or, another possibility which has been suggested,[142] Christians who went on as before with decorating their houses with art objects. Martin Henig has pointed out that the difficulty is to distinguish between sculpture kept for its aesthetic value and statues kept for their religious value,[143] but he emphasises also that "we must not ignore the deepening religious response of the Roman (and provincial) aristocracies in the fourth century, pagan as well as Christian."[144] He suggested that some Romano-British villas such as that at Frampton in Dorset could have existed "largely to serve the spiritual and ceremonial needs of their owners and friends."[145] The exquisite mosaics in some Romano-British villas representing recognizable scenes from the pagan imagery could indicate that the owner wished to display the mosaic to those who came to dine with him and to honour the gods. These guests could be fellow votaries of a Neoplatonic cult who came to take part in banquets that were inextricably associated with elevated conversation and acts of worship.[146]

Concerning the religious choice of the individuals, Martin Henig writes:[147] "In the Roman world, provided that traditional practices were not challenged (as they were above all by the Christians), every man was free to define the nature of the gods as he wished", or "he could equate deities one with the other... or he could discover new, previously unknown gods." If the owners of Building Chi were pagans they were devoted to several different cults, which is typical of Neoplatonic syncretism. The syncretism of Neoplatonists is well represented in the Hymns of Julian to the King Helios and to the Mother of the Gods, or in *Vita Procli* of Marinus.

Objects of Art and Their Religious Aspects

The Emperor Julian identified the Mother of the Gods as the mother and spouse of Zeus, who is enthroned at the side of Zeus.[148] The Great Mother is the counterpart of Athena, who is Forethought among the intellectual gods, as the Mother of the Gods is Forethought among the intelligible gods. Athena shared the throne of Apollo-Helios as Cybele shared the throne of Zeus-Helios.[149] According to Julian Zeus, Hades and Helios Serapis are three gods in one godhead; Apollo is associated with Helios, who is the father

142 This alternative was pointed out to me by Dr. Judith Binder.
143 Henig (1984), 170.
144 *Id.* (1986), 166.
145 *Id.*, 162.
146 *Id.*, 165.
147 *Id.*, 159.
148 Julian, *Oratio V*, 166 A–B (Loeb ed. (1980), 462–463).
149 *Id.*, 166 C–167 C, 170 D (Loeb ed. (1980), 464–467, 476–477; Wright (1980b), 463, note 3).

of Dionysus and who begat Asclepius to be the saviour of the whole world.[150] Julian even endowed the companion of Cybele, Attis, with the attributes of the sun-god Mithras.[151] Marinus tells us how Proclus used to say: "(...) it befits the philosopher not to observe the rites of any one city or of only a few nations, but to be the minister of the whole world in common (κοινῇ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου κόσμου ἱεροφάντην)."[152]

What could this syncretism offer for the interpretation of the decoration of the small shrine? It seems reasonable to suppose that the two enthroned deities, Cybele and the bearded male god, could have been interpreted according to the Neoplatonic syncretism, for example as pairs Cybele-Zeus/Helios or Athena-Apollo/Helios, in the same way as the cult of the Mother-Goddess and the Father-God could have been represented in Montmaurin[153] by the pairs Tutela-Jupiter and Venus-Helios/Serapis. This might be the reason why the earlier reliefs were reused in the small room of Building Chi, and they were set up beside each other above the reused base.

Except for the Omega House (House C) on the northern slope of the Areopagus with its large collection of pagan sculpture,[154] there are two good comparisons for the sculptural decoration of large Late Roman villas at Athens, the villa found in Kekropos Street 7–9 in Plaka and another large villa excavated in the early '80s in the north-eastern part of the National Garden, near the corner of the Basilisses Sofias and Erodou Attikou Streets. The partly excavated villa in Kekropos Street 7–9 was dated to the fourth century A.D.,[155] and its destruction attributed to Alaric's invasion in 396. The excavations revealed a large collection of sculpture, including, among others, two votive reliefs representing Cybele (compare Building Chi), another relief from the fourth century B.C. representing a person with chlamys in front of a horse, and a female head from a fourth century B.C. relief. Remarkable too was the large collection of terracottas from Kekropos Street 7–9, which included, for example, enthroned goddesses, a resting Eros, a dog, muses, a feminine masque and a bust of a philosopher. Furthermore, a steatite statuette representing an enthroned goddess, a figure of Harpocrates and a bust of Isis belonged to the decoration of this villa.

The large villa in the National Garden, which continues under the Erodou Attikou Street, had three periods of occupation.[156] The first Roman house was built in the second century A.D. and destroyed in the middle of the third century A.D. The second villa was built at the end of the third century or in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The second house was rebuilt after it had been destroyed by fire at the end of the fourth century or in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., and the history of the villa continued through the fifth century until the mid-sixth century A.D. The villa was decorated with wall paintings during the first phase, and the remains of mosaic floors are further proof of the wealth of the villa owners. The mosaics in the fourth-century villa represented geometrical, floral and allegorical motifs (the Four Seasons). An apsidal construction, interpreted as a shrine by the archaeologists E. Spathare and M. Chatziote, was decorated

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150 *Id., Oratio IV* (Hymn to King Helios), 135 D–136 A, 143 C–144 C, 149 B–150 A, 152 D, 153 B (Loeb ed. (1980), 368–369, 390–395, 406–411, 416–419; Wright (1980a), 351).

151 Wright (1980b), 440.

152 Marinus, *Vita Procli* 19 (ed. Masullo (1985)); transl. Rosán (1949), 24.

153 As was suggested by Georges Fouet, see above.

154 For the Omega House and its sculptural decoration, see: Shear (1973), 156–164; Thompson (1976), 148–150; Camp (1986), 202–211; Frantz (1988), 37–47; Camp (1989), 50–55, figs. 1–21.

155 Alexandre (1969b), 50–53, plans 19–20, pls. 45–48; Michaud (1971), 819, 821, figs. 29–39.

156 The preliminary excavation report by Spathare and Chatzare (1983), 23–25, plan 4.

with sculpture: three small marble statues,[157] two of Cybele and one of Hygieia, as well as two votive reliefs, representing Asclepius and Cybele, were found above the floor in the destruction fill dating from the late fourth or early fifth century A.D.

It is striking that there are so few pieces of profane sculpture among all these objects of art. Although we have evidence of sacrifices only from Building Chi, it is likely that the religious aspect of these works of art in the other houses was not forgotten.

These Late Roman houses provide a further piece of evidence of the wealth of the Athenian upper class from the fourth century until the sixth century A.D., as well as an indication of the religious interests of the prominent Athenian families. It seems quite possible that the apsidal structure of the villa in the north-eastern corner of the National Garden was a domestic shrine in the same sense as the shrine in the 'Court of Honour' in Montmaurin, and the small room with the decorated recess in Building Chi. There are, however, several possible instances of Late Roman domestic shrines: Dr. Henig suggested that it could have been more expedient for pagans in fourth-century Britain to use private rooms in their homes for religious cults than "to make offerings to the established temples which were under the risk of confiscations."[158]

VII. Did Building Chi Include a Separate Bath Compartment?

It is a fact that Building Chi extended further south (fig. 11), and some trial pits made during the excavations of 1955 in the quarter to the south revealed remains of wall constructions and mosaics which most probably belong to the same villa.[159] In 1961 parts of Late Roman baths were brought to light in the corner of Dionysiou Areopagitou, Parthenonos and Kallispere Streets, to the south-east of the documented northern part of Building Chi, and according to G. Dontas these baths could belong to the same villa.[160] The excavation uncovered parts of a private bath, a frigidarium with small water basins for individual use which became common at the end of the fourth century. In the south-eastern corner of the excavation area remains of a kitchen were found in the north-western corner of a Late Roman house. The oven and well-preserved kitchen utensils left in their place show that the house was abandoned in haste. A coin of Valentinian II (375–392) was found on the floor which provides evidence along with the pottery and oil lamps that the abandonment took place at the end of the fourth century. Furthermore, one part of the construction of the frigidarium, the south-eastern individual basin, was built around the year A.D. 400 partly on the remains of the western wall of the abandoned kitchen.[161]

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157 For these statues found *in situ*, see the photograph published in press (*Nea* 12.3.1984).

158 Henig (1984), 170, 219–220; Black (1986), 150.

159 Meliades (1955), 47; Dontas (1961–1962a), 89.

160 Dontas (1961–1962a), 83–95, pls. 30–36, 38–39; esp. p. 89, pl. 33. *Id.* (1961–1962b), 101–103, pl. 37.

161 *Id.* (1961–1962a), 89. The destruction of the Late Roman house at the end of the fourth century may be connected with the arrival of Alaric and the Visigoths in 396. The decisive fills connected with the destruction of Alaric, are in the Cerameicus (see Perlzweig (1961), 53, 63–64, and Frantz (1988), 26–28) and in the Agora (see Frantz (1988), 26, note 91, p. 52–56 for further discussion). Recent evidence for the sack of Alaric was found during the excavations in 1987 at Cerameicus (Catling (1987), 7–8; Rügler in Rügler and Knigge (1989), 87–90). The so-called Building Y had an abandonment horizon over a burnt destruction level. Pottery and especially a coin hoard put into the ground just after the destruction suggest a sack at the end of the 4th c. A.D. The hoard consisted of

Thus even the date of the baths coincides with the chronological evidence given to Building Chi.

VIII. Epilogue

Paavo Castrén has pointed out that there were extensive building activities in the whole area south of the Acropolis as a result of the sack by the Visigoths.[162] One of these new constructions is a building found in the corner of Dionysiou Areopagitou and Makre Streets,[163] constructed in the ruins of an earlier Roman house that was decorated with wall paintings and mosaics. An apsidal structure opening toward the west was built in the area after the destruction of the Roman house at the end of the fourth century A.D. The history of this house extends until the early seventh century A.D., as coins of Heraclius were found inside the apse.

Alison Frantz proposed that large villas with mosaic floors and baths on the outskirts of the city, especially south of the Acropolis, could be attributed "to wealthy Athenians, perhaps of senatorial rank or with priestly connections or to high officials having a second residence away from the capital".[164] If we use this as an argument, even Building Chi could be included in the same group. And yet, the presently available evidence accords well with the literary description of the 'House of Proclus'. The archaeological material proves that certain rites must have been performed there. That Proclus and his Neoplatonic friends made offerings in a private house and not in established temples would seem to be quite suitable in the political situation of Athens in the fifth century when there were more of those who entered through the narthex than 'narthex-carriers' and even fewer 'true bacchants'.[165]

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100 coins of Valentinian, Honorius, Theodosius I and Arcadius, the latest of which was dated to the years A.D. 402–408.

162 Castrén (1991), 474–476.

163 Zafeiropoulou (1983), 19–23, plan 3, pl. 19 α.

164 Frantz (1988), 46.

165 See Marinus, *Vita Procli* 22 (ed. Masullo (1985)); Rosán (1949), 25, and note 16.

Gunnar af Hällström

The Closing of the Neoplatonic School in A.D. 529: An Additional Aspect

1. The Traditional View

In numerous presentations, both old and new, one meets with a fairly uniform view of the last days of the Neoplatonic school in A.D. 529. This traditional view includes the following elements:

a) the Emperor Justinian I issued an edict in 529 A.D. demanding the closure of the Neoplatonic school (also known as the "Academy" and the "University of Athens");

b) the edict was issued because of the emperor's anti-pagan zeal in the interest of Christianity. The closure represents a land-mark in the relations between Christianity and paganism;

c) the seven professors of the Neoplatonic school fled/emigrated to Persia.[1]

This view, with minor variations, has found its way into numerous branches of scholarship. Thus it may be read in studies on the history of philosophy,[2] the history of

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1 Barker (1966), 99 seems to assume more than seven scholars, since he writes about "a great exodus of pagan scholars" and a "large body of learning".

2 Zeller (1963), 915–917. The latter, however, was of the opinion that the Neoplatonic school would have died sooner or later anyway, since its philosophy had reached its logical end.

education,[3] the history of the (Byzantine) Church,[4] as well as of ecclesiastical legislation,[5] and the general history of Late Antiquity.[6] This interdisciplinary consensus, though not complete, seems to affirm the negative estimations of Procopius of Caesarea, according to which Justinian I was "the greatest possible destroyer of established institutions".[7] It is possible, however, that scholars may have paid even greater attention to another, more recent, authority. Lynch suggests the famous Edward Gibbon.[8]

Theoretically speaking the traditional view is plausible enough. Presumably no-one would deny Justinian's zeal for propagating Christianity, and historically the events presupposed by the traditional view seem possible enough, with one exception: the excursion to Persia could not have taken place in 529, for reasons which will be presented below.[9] In all other respects, however, the events could actually have taken place, and in fact numerous analogous cases exist from about that time. A few decades earlier in Alexandria the pagan Professor Horapollon had been forced to retire from his position and leave the city because of his religious beliefs.[10] As for the closing of schools, one may cite a parallel from 489, when Zeno closed the theological school in Edessa, whereby it reestablished itself in Nisibis, Persia.[11] Seen in this light, the closure of the Neoplatonic school in 529 appears as the logical culmination of repressive acts against inconvenient schools and their professors.

2. Some Non-Conformist Views

Though historically possible and widely accepted, the traditional view has met with doubts and criticism for over a century.[12] A number of modified or alternative theories have appeared. Bréhier was of the opinion that the Neoplatonic school "died away for want of pupils and perhaps of professors".[13] In his *History of the Later Roman Empire*, Bury argued against point a) of the traditional view.

According to him no edict was needed, because Justinian's general legislation against paganism sufficed.[14] This argument seems still to be valid, since the wording of *Codex Iustinianus* I.11.10.2 does not favour the interpretation/explanation that Justinian's

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3 Walden (1909), 126–129; Clarke (1971), 102; Marrou (1957), 492.

4 Frend (1984), 830–831.

5 Alivisatos (1913), 48 is of the opinion that Justinian closed the philosophical schools in Athens, whereby the professors and students had to flee from the city.

6 Ostrogorsky (1963), 54; Diehl (1909), 23; Vasiliev (1958), 150; Browning (1971), 100; Demandt (1989), 365–366; Gibbon (1911), 25–267 (without mentioning Justinian's motives). Butler (1902), 473 considered the edict a "death-blow", the end of *classical* Athens, which fell into the "night of oblivion", but *pagan* Athens had lost its last stronghold when the statue of the goddess Athena was removed from the Acropolis. Hunger (1975), 342 speaks of "die meist überbewertete Schliessung der neuplatonischen Akademie". Hunger nonetheless adheres to the traditional view in other respects.

7 *Anecdota* VI.21.

8 Lynch (1972), 163.

9 See below Chapter 3.4.4.

10 See Haussig (1959), 92–93 and the *Vita Severi* (*PO* 2,1, 15–35) by Zacharias Scholasticus.

11 *CHI* III (1983), 579.

12 As early as 1889 F. Gregorovius announced "entschiedensten Zweifel" as to the closure in 529, following a certain Paparrigopoulos. See Gregorovius (1889), 56, note 1.

13 Bréhier (1965), 214.

14 Bury (1958) II, 370. Puliatti, in a study concerning the legislation in the Byzantine Empire, argues that Justinian's (general) anti-pagan legislation hit the Neoplatonic school badly, but that the exodus of the professors from the country was a voluntary one (Puliatti (1991), 279).

general legislation was directed *only* against *public* money spent on pagan professors;[15] it has sometimes been suggested that a special edict against the Neoplatonic school was needed because it was run with *private* resources.[16]

In the 1960ies Alan Cameron, in an article which has directed much of the later scholarly discussion, argued at length for the opinion that the Academy survived the intermezzo caused by Justinian's edict of 529 and the short study trip to Persia.[17] Blumenthal argued in 1978 that a "closure" of the Academy was even less probable than Alan Cameron had suggested, though Justinian's legislation affected it "somehow".[18] Fernández cannot discover any consequences of the 529 edict whatever: the "legendary" exodus to Persia was not caused by the edict, which was quickly and completely forgotten.[19] From time to time financial considerations have been added to the discussion. Gerostergios argues that the Academy was not closed, rather it went bankrupt because of the actions taken by Justinian.[20] Alternatively it can be argued that the school was closed precisely in order to obtain the revenues, the famous διαδοχικά. The economic aspects of the closure are discussed also by Glucker in an "epilogue".[21] Differing from Alan Cameron's view Glucker maintains that the property of the Neoplatonic school may have remained untouched, and that Simplicius continued to write, although forbidden to teach, in Athens after the return from Persia. Glucker concludes that Justinian's edict, as related by Malalas, was directed against all pagans (in Athens) teaching *any* discipline, law as well as philosophy.[22] This does not, in his view, entitle us to speak of the closure of a "school", nor less of the "Academy", since Damascius' institution was a private initiative, totally different from the Academy of Plato.[23] Thus Justinian did not close the "Academy". Consequently we seem to have three main interpretations of the events of 529: a) an edict was issued and the "Academy" closed; b) no edict was issued, but the "Academy" was closed nonetheless; c) there was no "Academy" to close.

3. The Sources

The literary sources on which the traditional view is founded can be quickly enumerated: they consist of one passage in John Malalas' *Chronographia* and one in Agathias of Myrina's *Historiae*. The former text is the only sixth century source to mention Justinian's edict, and the latter the only one to mention the exodus of the seven professors. Other sixth century texts can be regarded as secondary sources at best, giving

15 Glucker (1978), 324. The only explanation Glucker gives as to why an explicit edict had to be added to the general legislation is that Justinian was not "quite satisfied" with the latter – which is another way of saying that the problem remains.

16 This solution is suggested by Alan Cameron (1969), 9.

17 Alan Cameron (1969).

18 Blumenthal (1978).

19 Fernández (1983), 29.

20 Gerostergios (1982), 72–73. Evagrius Scholasticus points out the emperor's insatiable desire for people's money, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.30.

21 Glucker (1978), 324–326. As for the διαδοχικά in general in Late Antiquity, see *id.* 246–255.

22 *Id.*, 328.

23 *Ibid.* Glucker follows Lynch (1972), 174–175 who speaks against the existence of a "university" in Athens, maintaining that the professors taught privately in their homes. Demandt (1989), 365 refers to the fact that Eunapius explained why the Athenian professors taught in their homes by referring to the quarrels which occurred between students and settled Athenians when tuition was given in the Agora area.

indirect evidence for, or against, a closure of the Athenian school. Under these circumstances an analysis of the two main sources is necessary for an evaluation of the traditional view.

3.1. John Malalas

John Malalas was a native of Antioch in Syria, who moved to the capital at a date unknown to us, and died in the city in the 570's. His occupation cannot be precisely stated, but he seems to have been a government official. The opinion among scholars regarding the trustworthiness of John Malalas is not particularly encouraging.[24] Now and then it has been claimed that he reflects the views which were held at the Imperial court.[25] Be that as it may, as Malalas is the only source to mention the edict of 529, he is a key figure for our present purposes. From the Chronicles themselves, in particular from the eighteenth book dealing with the reign of "the most sacred Justinian", it appears that Malalas was a loyal supporter of the policy of the emperor, interested mainly in political events such as war and sedition, of natural phenomena, earthquakes in particular, and of ecclesiastical affairs such as the construction of churches, the conversion of peoples and individuals, and relations to heretics. Jews, Samaritans, Manicheans, pagans and other religious groups are mentioned time and again. The *context* in which the edict of 529 is mentioned is typical of the author. Malalas has proceeded in chronological order to the year A.D. 529, a year in which he says that there were quarrels between Christians and Samaritans in Syria, an earthquake in the Pontus area and another in Lycia. Roman law was codified and the monographies containing them sent to Berytus and Athens. A riot took place in the theatre of Antioch, and the persecution of pagans resulted in a law forbidding them to hold state offices. Heretics had to leave the country within three months. Furthermore Malalas tells us about the confiscation of the belongings of an ex-consul called Mundus. Then, in a passage immediately prior to the one dealing with the edict on philosophy, Malalas describes a succesful war in Thrace. In a word, he presents short glimpses into different matters of interest, and the passage on Athenian philosophy is extremely short. His words are as follows:[26]

> Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δεκίου ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς θεσπίσας πρόσταξιν ἔπεμψεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κελεύσας μηδένα διδάσκειν φιλοσοφίαν μήτε νόμιμα ἐξηγεῖσθαι μήτε κόττον ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων γίνεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εὑρεθέντες τινὲς τῶν κοττιστῶν καὶ βλασφημίαις δειναῖς ἑαυτοὺς περιβαλόντες χειροκοπηθέντες περιεβωμβήθησαν ἐν καμήλοις.
>
> "During the consulship of (the afore said) Decius the emperor issued a decree and sent it to Athens ordering that no-one should teach philosophy nor interpret

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24 Krumbacher (1897), 326–327; Rubin (1960), 231–232; Wolf (1916), cols. 1795–1796; Alan Cameron (1969), 8 goes as far as to say that it is "generally easier to disbelieve Malalas than to believe him". Somewhat more favourable is the presentation of Scott (1990b), 76. Fowden (1990), 501 regards the particular text dealing with the philosophical schools "extremely confused".

25 Scott (1985), 99–109 and Irmscher (1969), 337–346. According to the thesis of the former the emperors issued brief official reports of some events of interest, and the Byzantine chroniclers (Malalas among them) used these reports as sources.

26 John Malalas 18 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 451).

> laws, nor should gaming be allowed in any city, for some gamblers who had been discovered in Byzantion had been indulging themselves in dreadful blasphemies. Their hands were cut off and they were paraded around on camels." (transl. Jeffreys-Jeffreys-Scott (1986))

In one single sentence Malalas mentions some prohibitions that Justinian enforced in different cities in 529. It is only in Athens that philosophy and law were forbidden, but gambling everywhere. Athens is thus dealt with only in passing; the emphasis is on gamblers in Byzantium. This can be concluded by the fact that the reference to the gamblers is at the end of the sentence, by the length of the description, and that the motivation for the decree is stated (ἐπειδή). Nothing at all is said of the motive for forbidding philosophy and law in Athens. The most central part of the traditional view rests upon a third of a sentence.

The sentence at issue consists of a mere enumeration of what Malalas considered historical facts, reported in the brief telegram-style he often used. He makes nothing further of the facts, that is, they are not used for the purpose of edifying, nor do they serve as background information for anything he intends to relate further on. This adds somewhat to the reliability of Malalas on this particular point. The traditional view, which stresses the emperor's anti-pagan attitude, receives no support from Malalas. True, this attitude becomes perfectly clear throughout the *Chronographia,* but as to the decree of 529 not one word is said which would show this bias.

It should be noted, too, that no school, Academy, nor less a "university" is mentioned in the decree against philosophy. As it stands, it seems directed to individual teachers: *no-one* is allowed to teach philosophy, regardless of external circumstances such as his official status.[27]

The activities prohibited in 529 were, then, three in number. Whithout doubt a closer look at them is required.

a) Φιλοσοφία

Following a long and strong tradition in Christian idiosyncracy Malalas connects no derogatory ring to the word "philosophy".[28] He even gives praise to the pagan female philosopher Hypatia for having been a famous thinker, though without mentioning her paganism.[29] A similar attitude is noticeable towards Proclus, a person of particular interest for our present purposes. Proclus is described as an Athenian and Asian philosopher,[30] both attributes that apply to Proclus from Lycia. The Emperor Anastasius turned towards Proclus in a situation of political trouble, that is to say, during the rebellion of Vitalian, and received advice which proved to be successful. This fortunate outcome was interpreted by Malalas as a victory for Christ and his Church. Proclus' paganism has been altogether overlooked, to an even greater extent than in the case of

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27 Thus also Lynch (1972), 174–175.

28 For the term "philosophy" in Christian use, see the monography of Malingrey (1961).

29 John Malalas 14.3 (transl. Spinka and Downey (1940)). In the same context another philosopher is mentioned, too, and again in laudable wordings: he was "a man wise in all things".

30 *Id.* 16.3 (transl. Spinka and Downey (1940)). *PLRE* II, 915–919 splits the philosopher(s) called Proclus by Malalas in *three* different persons. His "Proclus 7" and "Proclus 8" are, at least in the Church Slavonian text, one and the same, being both "Asian" and "Athenian".

Hypatia.[31] The modesty of Proclus is emphasised by the fact that he did not wish for any reward for his services to the emperor. After this sympathetic description of the Athenian scholarch the announcement that Justinian prohibited philosophical studies at Athens becomes not only unexpected, but, indeed, contrary to expectation, though the closing of the Neoplatonic school is presented in a context other than the deeds of Proclus.

Malalas' description of Proclus shows that the latter had acquired some traits of a *theios aner* in the sixth century. The *Vita Procli* by Marinus had initiated such a development. There we are told, for example, that Proclus saved Athens from drought by bringing about rain, and that he was able to avert earthquakes.[32] What is striking is that Proclus was "Christianised" in common opinion in less than one hundred years; it would be unfair to limit this favourable attitude towards Proclus to Malalas alone. Such "Christianisations" were not altogether unknown in Late Antiquity,[33] and later Byzantine legends delight in presenting Athenian philosophers as prophetic persons helpful to the Christian emperors.[34] But Malalas had failed to notice that Proclus was already dead by the reign of Anastasius. The tendency towards connecting famous persons with miraculous deeds was stronger than a precise chronology, a fact that can be observed not only in contemporary literature but also in ecclesiastical art.[35] Taking all things into consideration, there cannot have been any other Athenian philosopher, well-known as far as Byzantium, called "Proclus", than Proclus the scholarch, who died in 485.

b) Νόμιμα

The second thing prohibited in Athens, but only in Athens, was called νόμιμα. The term itself is rather uncommon; one late manuscript has chosen to substitute the more understandable ἀστρονομία. Lexically it means "legal", or, when (rarely) used as a noun, "law",[36] in which latter sense it occurs also in the *Codex Iustinianus* itself.[37]

The verb ἐξηγεῖσθαι, being a technical term, makes it clear beyond doubt that Malalas is speaking about the interpretation of law, an activity frequently mentioned and strictly regulated in the *Codex Iustinianus*. The fact that the existence of a "faculty of law" in

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31 Zeller (1963), 841, note 4 says that the paganism of Proclus was not known, and our philosopher had good relations to the authorities. Malalas' presentation supports such a view, but the *Vita Procli* by Marinus strongly contradicts it, unless the persecution against him was a popular movement, unaccepted by the authorities.

32 Marinus 28 (ed. Masullo (1985)).

33 Already for centuries there had been the tendency among Christians to Christianise famous philosophers from ancient times, such as Socrates, Plato, and Seneca. A similar tendency can be traced in the attitude towards emperors as well, particularly towards Augustus. Remote parallels may be seen in the case of Pontius Pilate, who became a saint in the Syrian church, but in the West was considered to have committed suicide in desperation, and to Apollonius of Tyana, who became the Holy Balinos in Byzantine tradition.

34 In *Narratio de aedificatione templi S. Sophiae* 19.1 (ed. Preger (1901), 97) three Athenian philosophers are said to have cooperated with Justinian I (!) in connection with the building of the Hagia Sophia. I owe this reference to Mansfield (1985), 115. Another example of the same phenomenon is mentioned below in Chapter 3.2.

35 Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite makes persons from different generations live together in his treatises, and wall-mosaics in Byzantine churches, later on *e.g.* in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, portray saints and emperors from different eras in the same composition.

36 Roussou (1948) gives the following Latin equivalents: νόμιμος: *legitimus*, for example νόμιμος καιρὸς γάμου *(legitima aetas ad matrimonium)*; νομίμως: *licite*, for example νομίμως γαμεῖν *(licite nubere)*; τὰ νόμιμα: *legitima, jura, leges*, for example κοινὰ νόμιμα *(ius commune)*.

37 *CJ* I.3.38.1 (ed. Krüger (1959)).

Athens cannot be archeologically verified does not make Malalas' narrative unbelievable. Only a small number of the buildings excavated are identifiable beyond doubt, and too little of the city has been excavated to allow trustworthy conclusions. Gregorovius is of the opinion that Malalas contradicts himself as to the teaching of law in Athens. Only shortly earlier he had told his readers that a "monobiblion" of Justinian's new codex was sent to Berytus and Athens. Did the Emperor change his mind about legal studies in Athens so quickly?[38] If Malalas is correct in both points Justinian can hardly be accused of enmity against Athens itself. If he had been planning actions against semi-pagan Athens for a long time, as the traditional view supposes, he is unlikely to have honoured the faculty of law there by sending one of the few copies of his masterpiece.

c) Κόττος

The prohibition against gambling is mentioned repeatedly in the *Codex Iustinianus*,[39] a fact that makes Malalas seem trustworthy at least on this point. Gambling was a popular activity, not least among students.[40] Agathias confirms Malalas' report that abusive language often occurred with gambling.[41] Probably Justinian's measures against it took no-one by surprise. The punishment Justinian inflicted on some of the transgressors is also known from other sources; Procopius in his *Secret History* says that people were set on camels to be jeered at by the people. Procopius, however, is speaking of a punishment inflicted on astrologers.[42]

3.2. Agathias of Myrina

In his *Historiarum libri quinque* Agathias (around 530–580) deals with the reign of Justinian and particularly with events not recorded by other authors.[43] As an inhabitant of Constantinople and, for some time, Alexandria, he had the opportunity to follow the events in the capital. He and Malalas must have lived in the capital at approximately the same time. The closure of the Neoplatonic school as suggested by Malalas must have taken place almost contemporaneously with Agathias' birth. He was, therefore, dependent on others for information about this particular event, in contrast to our other main source for the era of Justinian, namely Procopius. Agathias started writing his Histories some years after Justinian's death in 565.[44] By that time Justinian's decree of 529 should have been known to historians in the capital, if it was known in the Empire at all. It is of some importance for our present task to note, too, that Agathias had access to some information from *outside* the Empire. He did use some Persian sources,[45] but his

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38 Gregorovius (1889), 55–56. But also Constitution *"Omnem"* 7 (ed. Krüger (1959)), in the Digests, restricts the faculties of law to Rome, Berytus and Byzantium. This constitution is dated to A.D. 533.

39 *CJ* I.4.25; III.43.1 (ed. Krüger (1959)).

40 Haussig (1959), 93.

41 Agathias II.29.5 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

42 *Anecdota* XI.3.

43 Agathias II.30–31 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

44 Agathias, *praefatio* 21 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

45 See Krumbacher (1897), 242 and Suolahti (1947).

narrative about the stay of the seven professors in Persia is, it seems, too critical of the Sassanide Empire to have derived from those sources.

Agathias interprets history very much in moral categories, a fact which has contributed to the strongly negative estimations as to his reliability.[46]

The text which according to the traditional view should be understood as referring to the decree of 529 is rather extensive. Thus we confine ourself to render only the central part of it in translation.

> "Not long before Damascius of Syria, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Priscian of Lydia, Hermes and Diogenes of Phoenicia and Isidore of Gaza, all of them, to use a poetic turn of phrase, the quintessential flower of the philosophers of our age, had come to the conclusion, since the official religion of the Roman empire was not to their liking, that the Persian state was much superior. So they gave a ready hearing to the stories in general circulation according to which Persia was the land of 'Plato's philosopher king' in which justice reigned supreme... Elated therefore by these reports which they accepted as true, and also because they were forbidden by law to take part in public life with impunity owing to the fact that they did not conform to the established religion, they left immediately and set off for a strange land whose ways were completely foreign to their own, determined to make their homes there."
>
> Agathias II.30.3–4 (transl. Frendo (1975))

The *context* of the passage quoted needs some elucidation. Agathias is speaking about the Persian ruler Chosroes (Khusrau I Anushirvan) and comments thereby also upon the education of the royalty in question. Chosroes was famous for being well-acquainted with Greek philosophy, particularly with "the Stagirite" and Plato.[47] Some Byzantines regarded Chosroes as being himself an extraordinary philosopher, compatible with the best Greek ones. A Syrian called Uranius, who lived mainly in Byzantium, had recently returned from a visit to the court of Persia, and had contributed to the popular rumour that the king was a qualified philosopher.[48] Agathias makes it his task to prove that the Persians, Chosroes included, were morally and intellectually far below the Byzantines, and not least as regards philosophy. Agathias could hardly have made it more clear how highly esteemed philosophers were in the Byzantium of his day!

Agathias is unmistakably upset, personally irritated by the rumours circulating in the Empire. His irritation was due to the conviction that barbarians could not possibly be good philosophers. At most Chosroes could be the best among barbarian thinkers.[49] In order to prove his point he tells the story quoted above about seven professors going to Persia. He strongly emphasises that they were the greatest possible experts in the Empire, a complete team of seven scholars from different parts of the country. Again the attitude towards philosophy is positive. But as far as Chosroes is concerned, Agathias reaches his goal: the story provides incontestable proof of the emperor not being a real philosopher and of life in Persia being extremely immoral. The seven Byzantine

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46 "Anything whatever may be included in a history, if it makes men more virtuous." (Averil Cameron (1970), 33.) The estimate of Ites (1926) is not in the least more favourable: only some basic facts are correct in Agathias' narration, the rest is distorted by moralising and fantastic additions.

47 Agathias II.28.1–2 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

48 *Ibid.; Id.* II.32.3 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

49 *Id.* II.28.5 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

professors return "home" (οἴκαδε) utterly disappointed.[50] Thus they themselves are proof of the fact that Justinian's Empire is the better (best) empire.

Though the story is a long one, it is nonetheless intended as an excursion.[51] Even temporally it belongs to a time other than the rest of Agathias' presentation, which deals with the years 552–559.

Being an edifying story its *historicity* can be questioned even more than the other texts of Agathias. The fact that the professors are said to have been *seven* occasions some doubt. Not only does the number intimate a numeral mysticism of some kind, but it turns out to have some parallels or precedents, operating with the same number of wise men. A body of seven sages is documented as early as in the dialogue *Protagoras* of Plato.[52] There is an analogous story referring to events in the fifth century, though written down much later, in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. Seven Athenian scholars are said to have moved with Empress Eudocia to Constantinople, there confirming the decline of paganism and the success of Christianity.[53] The story of Agathias has an almost similar conclusion: the Christian Byzantine Empire is far better than the Persian empire. In *favour* of the historicity of Agathias' presentation, at least partially, is the fact that he enumerates the names and countries of origin of the seven sages.[54] Four of them are unknown to us, but Damascius the Syrian, Simplicius, and Priscian are well-known historical persons. Agathias correctly describes them as philosophers who are all fairly contemporary with Chosroes of Persia. Other sources confirm that during the reign of Justinian numerous non-Christians left the Empire for Persia.[55] Averil Cameron has noted that Agathias in his account uses the terminology of Damascius,[56] a fact that increases the credibility of the narrative, and Fernández has presented plausible arguments for Chosroes' benevolence towards the seven.[57] There was a cultural revival in progress in the Sassanide empire in Chosroe's days, and philosophy gained from it as well.[58] The archeological evidence shows that the so called House of Proclus, commonly believed to have been the dwelling-place of the Neoplatonist school, was abandoned at the beginning of the sixth century.[59] And finally, the information given by Malalas concerning the prohibition of philosophical teaching in Athens seems to fit in with Agathias' presentation: Malalas seems to give the beginning, Agathias the end of the story. This is, however, precisely in line with Agathias own intentions, it seems, as he knew Malalas' work and wished to avoid repetition.[60] Among sixth century authors Malalas is the *only* one to tell us about the decree, and Agathias the *only* author to inform

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50 *Id.* II.31.2 (ed. Keydell (1967)). Recently it has been argued that Simplicius went to Carrhae (Harran), south of Edessa; see Wildberg (1987), 12.

51 In *Historiae* II.28.1 Agathias says he will write βραχέα ἅττα περὶ Χοσρόου, and in III.1 he admits that the digression was a long one, μακρότερος λόγος (ed. Keydell (1967)).

52 *Protagoras* 343a.

53 *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 64 (ed. and transl. Averil Cameron and Herrin, (1984), 141–147).

54 The names of the seven Athenian philosophers who moved to Byzantium are given in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, too, but not the country of origin, unless Athens itself is regarded as such. *Id.* 64 (ed. and transl. Averil Cameron and Herrin, (1984), 140, lines 17–18).

55 According to John Malalas 18 (ed. Dindorf (1831), 455) thousands of Samaritans left the Byzantine Empire about 530. Procopius in his *Secret History* (for example in XI.23) states repeatedly that people were either exiled by the authorities or left Byzantium voluntarily.

56 Averil Cameron (1970), 101. The expression ἡ κρατοῦσα δόξα, used by Damascius about Christianity, is used by Agathias in the episode about the seven professors also.

57 Fernández (1987).

58 See Frye (1984), 329–331.

59 See the article by A.Karivieri in this volume.

60 Agathias II.19.1 and IV.15.1 (ed. Keydell (1967)).

us about the exodus to Persia. Thus far the traditional view seems to harmonise fairly well with our two main sources.

3.3. Comparing Malalas and Agathias

The fact that Agathias seems to provide only the end of the story which was begun by Malalas is in itself no severe problem. A closer look at his narrative, however, reveals that there are difficulties in harmonising it with the traditional view.

Firstly, according to Agathias the initiative for the "embassy" to Persia came from the philosophers themselves, not from the emperor. *They* were discontent with the empire, not the emperor with them. The reason for their discontent was explicitly the *general* legislation in the Byzantine Empire, a legislation which resulted in their being unable to take part in public life. Not one word is said about an edict from the emperor. Without taking too great a risk one may suggest that Agathias wished to correct John Malalas on this point; his differing exposition cannot, as we have noted already, be ascribed to ignorance of Malalas' work.[61]

Consequently, Agathias' version does not allow the interpretation that the professors were expelled from the empire, nor in fact were they actually persecuted, as the traditional view sometimes presupposes. Their political activity was circumscribed, that much "criticism" Agathias allows himself to utter against the Byzantine empire. As for the future, the peace agreement between Persia and Byzantium granted impunity. Malalas, for his part, seems to suggest tougher methods, at least compulsory unemployment, but physical violence is not necessarily implied in his account.

Secondly, the chronologies in the narratives of our main sources are not quite compatible with each other. Malalas dates the edict of Justinian explicitly to A.D. 529. Agathias, on the other hand, allows the rumour of the Persian "philosopher king" to reach the Byzantine empire first, and only then the professors decide "at once" to emigrate. As Chosroes did not accede to the throne until 531 and some time would have had to elapse before the rumour reached the Byzantines, the Neoplatonic school could not have been closed as early as 529.[62]

Thirdly, the geographical information given by Malalas and Agathias can, at best, be harmonised, but there is nothing to say that this should be done. Perhaps Agathias wished to give an impression other than Malalas in this matter. He does not mention Athens at all, a most strange fact if he is describing the closure of the famous Neoplatonic school in Athens,[63] as the traditional view would like to interpret him. Instead, he stresses another geographical aspect, namely the "international" character of the group. The "professors" came from the most diverse parts of the Empire: Damascius from Syria, Simplicus from Cilicia, Eulamius from Phrygia, Isidorus from as far as Gaza. By writing in this manner Agathias creates the impression that the scholars formed a select *élite* from

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61 Averil Cameron (1970), 102 thinks "the whole commentary clearly alludes (though in deliberately oblique terms) to the state of affairs in 529, the time of Justinian's edict". However, such an "allusion" is discernible only if one is acquainted with Malalas' story in advance. One who reads Agathias only would not be able to reconstruct anything like an edict against Athenian philosophers.

62 Norwich (1988), 228 is of the opinion that Chosroes I welcomed the professors from Athens *before* his accession to the throne. This is, however, not what Agathias says.

63 Averil Cameron (1970), 101, followed by Blumenthal (1978), 377, argues that all seven professors may not have been from Athens.

all over the Empire, the "quintessence of contemporary philosophers", as he says himself. Not one of them was a native Athenian. They might of course have begun their common journey from Athens, for example, as they did not travel as individuals, but as a group having made a common decision. The shortest way to Persia from the regions Agathias mentioned was nonetheless not via Athens.

There is some reason to believe that the professors should be understood as Platonists, however. They had heard of Plato's philosopher king and wished to find him. Their journey is thus a search after Platonoupolis. Chosroes is said to have been an expert on Plato, too.[64] Agathias himself was particularly impressed by Plato.[65] All this does not automatically make the professors Athenians, but at least they *could* have been teachers at a Neoplatonic school.

We conclude that Malalas knew of an edict in 529, Agathias either did not know of it or did not wish to know it. He had good reason for the latter. As his story now stands, it is precisely the edifying narrative he always wants to serve his readers. The most learned men there are leave Byzantium to find a better place in which to live and work. Alas, there was not any! On the contrary, this intellectual *élite* bears witness that intellectually and morally the Byzantines stand miles above the pagan Persians. As prodigal sons they return "home", as Agathias says, and the philanthropic emperor receives them back with open arms. Surely an edifying story. But an edict against pagan philosophy in Athens, not to mention the persecution of philosophers, would have spoilt this. It would have damaged the image of Justinian as the benevolent ruler. It would have meant an open attack on Platonism, which was so beloved by Agathias. And the end of the story would have been ironic indeed: at first Justinian closed the Neoplatonic school for religious reasons, then he receives the professors "home" again and this time with the written permission in the peace treaty with Persia to practise their religion for the rest of their lives![66] Nor would that be the "death-blow" to paganism supposed by the traditional view.

3.4. Secondary Sources

3.4.1. Damascius of Athens

The Athenian scholarch Damascius was one of those Agathias mentioned among the seven emigrants to Persia. Though born in Damascus, Damascius must have known more than most others of the situation in Athens from about 480 to 529. He spent some nine years in the city as professor of rhetoric,[67] and met Proclus in person during that period. He witnessed the difficult procedure of electing a successor to Proclus, but spent some of the years after 485 travelling in the eastern parts of Byzantium, until he was elected διάδοχος himself after Isidorus of Alexandria. While living in Alexandria he was chosen scholarch of the Athenian school. According to the narrative of Agathias, he must have been at least 80 years old when he returned from Persia in A.D. 533.

In writing the traditional biography of his predecessor, Isidorus, Damascius gives us valuable information about the years immediately preceeding his own time as head of the

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64 Agathias II.28.1–2 (ed. Keydell (1967)).
65 *Id.* II.30.1 (ed. Keydell (1967)).
66 *Id.* II.31.4 (ed. Keydell (1967)).
67 This appears from his *Vita Isidori*, fr. 201 (ed. Zintzen (1967)), 274).

Neoplatonic school, that is, around A.D. 500. The actual writing of the *Vita Isidori* must have taken place after Isidorus' death, and some time after Damascius' appointment, which brings us even closer to the crucial year 529.[68] Fortunately, from our point of view, Damascius was fond of writing about himself, thus allowing us to study the sentiments of the last scholarch.

The *Vita Isidori,* extant today only in fragments from Photius and the *Suda Lexicon,* clearly reveals the threat hanging over the Neoplatonic school. Isidorus is said to have planned to do what Damascius actually did according to Agathias, namely to leave Athens altogether.[69] But similar situations had occurred earlier in the recent history of the Neoplatonic school. Before Isidorus, Proclus had feared that the end of the Neoplatonic school was near, if no-one accepted the office of scholarch.[70] Marinus, in his *Vita Procli,* says that Proclus had to leave the city for a year, due to religious confrontations in the city.[71] The end had clearly been imminent for some time when Damascius seised the pen.

Our scholarch says little about the external circumstances in which the Neoplatonic school operated. Instead, Damascius portrays the life and practice inside the school. We learn how the scholarchs were elected in those days. The headmaster in charge was indisputably in a key position in the process of appointing a successor. The following phases can be traced in the procedure:

a) an authoritative person (such as Asclepiodotus maior) may suggest a candidate to the present scholarch (for example Proclus);

b) the scholarch contacts a person of his liking personally or by letter. Even if an entire deputation is sent to a candidate to ask for his acceptance of the task, it will act in the name of the present scholarch;

c) the candidate had the right to accept or refuse the offer;

d) influential persons in Athens (such as Theagenes and his wife Asclepigeneia) may have had a word in the procedure, and so may the population, if the candidate was particularly inconvenient from its point of view (as was Marinus);

e) appeals to dreams and signs were made to confirm the choice.

Severe schisms resulted if the scholarch did not meet the expectations. In the *Vita Isidori* we learn that this was the case with Marinus, who was despised by his colleagues as well as by the mighty Theagenes.[72] But even Isidorus was not a qualified teacher in Damascius' view.[73] These internal problems may have been the consequences of external problems, such as pressure from the government, though if this was so it is not mentioned, or from the population. Nonetheless Damascius lays the responsibility of the

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68 *PLRE* II, 343 concludes that the *Vita Isidori* was written between A.D. 517 and 526.

69 *Vita Isidori* 229 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 296).

70 *Id.* 151 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 206).

71 *Vita Procli* 15 (ed. Masullo (1985)).

72 *Vita Isidori* fr. 42 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 66); fr. 144 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 198); fr. 261 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 211); fr. 275 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 304); fr. 276 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 304). All this possibly resulted in the "sedition" mentioned in fr. 277 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 304). στάσις could be understood as discord in the School itself, or in the city, but it is hardly a correct term to denote a decree from Byzantium.

73 *Id.* fr. 142 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 226).

school's future entirely on its teachers. If the professors wished to continue their activities, they could do so.[74] Thus the *Vita Isidori* supports the narrative of Agathias rather than that of Malalas. The former described a *voluntary* exodus from the Empire, the latter implied a *compulsory* end to the School, ordered by the government, but Damascius knew nothing about such a compulsion. Our scholarch wrote about a *planned* exodus, without mentioning any religious reasons for it, whereas Agathias wrote about one that had actually taken place, and he also mentioned the reason for it.

3.4.2. Aeneas of Gaza

Aeneas is known to have studied philosophy at Alexandria under Hierocles, and to have been active as a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy in Gaza and elsewhere in Syria. His great interest in Neoplatonic philosophy makes his two statements about philosophy in Athens particularly important for our present purpose, even more so because he actually experienced the year 529.[75] Unfortunately we are left with conjectures as to whether he made his statements about Athenian philosophy before or after A.D. 529. It seems likely, however, that he wrote before that date, or else one has to conclude, as we shall see, that he was unaware of any closure of the Academy.

In a letter to a colleague[76] Aeneas states that present day young Athenians do not frequent their own schools, such as the Academy and the Lyceum, but "consider it worth while", to visit Syrian schools instead. They are even said to think, that the two philosophical schools mentioned (nowadays) are "among us", that is, in Syria. Aeneas seems to mean that the Athenians considered foreign schools to be better than their own, which is rather nonsensical if the Athenian schools had been closed by Justinian. If, on the other hand, Aeneas displays rivalry between Athens and Gaza, there should in all probability be something (academic) in Athens which was worthy of envy.

In his main work *Theophrastus* Aeneas presents a Syrian student Euxitheus, who is said to have planned a stay in Athens in order to study philosophy. But visiting per chance Alexandria he came across a native Athenian called Theophrastus, who informs him that philosophy is altogether unknown in Athens at present, παντελῶς ἄγνωστος.[77] Euxitheus is said to have believed in the existence of philosophical teaching in Athens, a fact which suggests a period prior to 529. Neither Euxitheus nor Theophrastus knew of Justinian's edict. One may possibly find a trace of rivalry between the Alexandrian and Athenian schools in Theophrastus' statement that philosophy is unknown in Athens. However, the one purported to say it was himself an Athenian! Thus *Theophrastus* confirms Letter 18 as to the Athenian attitude towards their own schools. Rivalry presupposes, again, the existence of a fairly successful competitor, but Theophrastus does not even admit the *existence* of such. We may conclude that Aeneas' text is in agreement with Damascius' description of the Isidorian era insofar that

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74 Damascius claims that it was the duty of Syrianus and Hegias to "save" (ἀνασώσασθαι) philosophy, which was declining (ὑπορρέουσα), *id.* fr. 230 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 296). Thus the fate of the School cannot have been entirely in the hands of outsiders.

75 The precise dates of Aeneas' birth and death are not known. *PLRE* II, 17 gives A.D. 484 as the *terminus post quem* of Aeneas' dialogue *Theophrastus;* Aeneas is likely to have died some time after A.D. 538 (Sauget (1983), 1154). Wacht (1969), 15, however, seems to favour an earlier dating without determining it definitely.

76 Letter 18, to Theodorus the Sophist (ed. Positano (1962), 40–41).

77 Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus* (*PG* 85, col. 877).

philosophy was in serious trouble in Athens at that time. Aeneas, however, portrays an even worse decline, Theophrastus himself being the only hope, but alas, he moved to Alexandria.[78]

However, the Alexandrian school also faced severe difficulties. Aeneas says that the teachers were unqualified, as said Damascius of the Athenian professors. The students were uninterested, and the lecture rooms deserted.[79] So philosophy was almost unknown in Alexandria, too! But Aeneas was convinced that the future looked better: Theophrastus had arrived in Alexandria three days ago, and with his arrival a new glorious time had begun. With Theophrastus *Athens had moved to Alexandria,* an Egyptian interlocutor says! This is already the *fourth* philosophical exodus from Athens mentioned in our sources! According to one of them (the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*) there was an exodus to Constantinople, according to another (Agathias) the exodus went to Ctesiphon in Persia, according to Aeneas' letter the "Academy" was nowadays situated in Syria and according to *Theophrastus* one Athenian philosopher went to Alexandria. Only a century earlier Christians and non-Christians alike had boasted of having studied in Athens, that famous centre of learning.[80]

Nothing is known about a revival of philosophical studies in Alexandria through the activities of Theophrastus. What is clear, however, is that Aeneas provides us with one more text illustrating a general decline of philosophical studies in the Byzantine Empire in the early sixth century. Euxitheus, when planning where to study, was very uncertain as to whether there was a suitable school to be found. Rather pessimistically he thought he might at least try Athens as a starting point in order to find out whether εἴ τίς που σοφὸς παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὑπολείπεται.[81] In Gaza there was nothing of interest for a philosophical scholar, in Alexandria he found a school lacking students and qualified teachers. Philosophy was evidently experiencing difficulties all over the Empire. The existence of just one chair of philosophy in Byzantium confirms rather than diminishes this impression.

3.4.3. Romanus Melodus

Romanus was born in Emesa but active as a deacon first in Berytus and then in Byzantium. The precise dates of his life have been much discussed and are still uncertain to some degree. In one of his poems he seems to refer to the Nika riot,[82] and in another to the earthquakes which occurred in 552 and 555 in Byzantium.[83] As he is known to have moved from Berytus to Byzantium already in the times of the Emperor Anastasius (about 516), he is likely to have been in the city in 529 and should have been aware of the closing of the Neoplatonic school, if such an event was mentioned in everyday

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78 Needless to say, no trace of the philosophical "revival" which Alan Cameron (1969), 28–29 suggested under Damascius' time as scholarch can be found in Aeneas, any more than in our other sources. Alan Cameron suggests that Aeneas wrote about the situation (in Athens) following immediately after the death of Proclus in 485, an improbable dating.

79 Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus* (*PG* 85, col. 876).

80 See Schemmel (1908). But admittedly Schemmel also noted a rather pessimistic utterance by Synesius concerning philosophy in Athens from the early fifth century, *i.e.* the times before the revival through the activities of Proclus.

81 Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus* (*PG* 85, col. 877).

82 *Canticum* 54: *On Earthquakes and Fires* (ed. Maas and Trypanis (1963)); see also Grosdidier de Matons (1977), 176.

83 *Ibid.*

conversation. Romanus does, in fact, refer to Greek philosophy a couple of times. In *On Pentecost* he writes:

> "Was it not granted to them (the apostles) to be superior to all the others, through the tongues they spoke? And whatfor were the Greeks proud and humming? Why do they exalt themselves? In the light of the three times cursed Aratos, why do they err to the (companion of) Plato? Why do they love the weak Demosthenes, why do they not know that Homer is an empty dream? Why do they babble about Pythagoras, whose mouth was justly closed? Why did they not haste to the holy Spirit in belief, to whom he showed Himself?"[84]

The context reveals that Romanus is drawing up a contrast between the apostles, filled by the Spirit, and well-known Greek intellectuals. The relation between them is that of humble men to proud men, and truthful men to loquacious deceivers. The miracle of Pentecost, however, gave the victory to the former, and to the simple messsage they preached. Rivalry between the ancient Greek and the present Byzantine cultures is unmistakeably implied. Among philosophers Pythagoras and Plato are particularly blamed, as they are in the thinking of Justinian I himself.[85] But the victory of Christianity over Greek philosophy is not said to consist of the cancellation of Neoplatonic teaching in Athens. It took place in Jerusalem at Pentecost five centuries earlier.

In another hymn, which deals with Christ sending his apostles as missionaries into the world, Romanus touches upon our topic a second time. He has his Christ to say the following:[86]

> "I do not rejoice in the followers of Plato, but I have loved the simpletons of the world, I, the only one who knows the secrets of man's heart.
>
> Thus I give you power as well, the power which can make many to rise through the fall (of one), and a language which will make you wise. Your assembly will scare away Demosthenes, and the Athenians will be defeated by the Galilaeans. And so will Cefas bring the (pagan) literature to silence, in proclaiming me. The word 'Maranatha' will silence excessive speech as well as the myths; Nazareth will make Corinth tremble. You shall speak and I shall convince (them), I, who am the only one to know the secret of man's heart."

The context deals with Christ comforting his apostles before the formidable task of preaching the Gospel all over the world. The apostles differ from their pagan audience in a number of ways. Every quality among the former has a (negative) counterpart among the latter. The comparison between the famous rhetorician Demosthenes and the apostles, speaking in tongues at Pentecost, is in itself interesting as regards the understanding of the charisma implied, but irrelevant for our present purpose. The contrast between Ἀθηναῖοι and Γαλιλαῖοι should be understood in the light of the preceding pair of

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84 *Canticum* 33: *On Pentecost* (ed. Maas and Trypanis (1963), 265). A short comment on these lines of Romanus is given by Grosdidier de Matons (1977), 184–185.

85 *Liber adversus Origenem* (*PG* 86.1, col. 949). Justinian's attack on Plato seems to emerge from his Christological interests. The philosophy of Plato promoted a subordinationist Christology, in Justinian's view. Podskalsky (1977), 70 pays attention to the fact that there were rather favourable attitudes towards Plato also among the early Byzantines. Anastasios Sinaites, for example, thought that Plato was the first pagan to turn to Christianity at Christ's preaching in the underworld!

86 *Canticum* 31: *On the Mission of the Apostles* (ed. Maas and Trypanis (1963), 247).

opposites: Demosthenes and the apostles form a pair, independent of time, and so do the Galileans and the Athenians. One should not have sixth century A.D. Athenians in mind here, but pagans of all times. Similarly the "Galileans" are not only first century Christians, but representatives of the Church of all eras. Romanus' text is an instances of Christian polemic against pagan (Greek) culture, but as such no evidence for Justinian having closed the Academy recently. "Athens" had been in the shooting-line numerous times before, in a figurative sense. "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem", was Tertullian's famous rhetoric question, a question that had nothing to do with early third century topography.[87] Almost two centuries later Chrysostom in his turn asked rhetorically: "Where is Plato now? His teaching has disappeared and come to silence, he is dead, many have not even heard his name. The Academy has rotted away."[88] From this we do not infer that the Academy was *closed* in about 400, and Romanus is not saying anything more about the fates of the Academy than Chrysostom was.

3.4.4. Procopius of Caesarea

Walden was of the opinion that Procopius, our best source for the era of Justinian, does mention the closing of the Academy.[89] A suitable context for such information had, theoretically, been Procopius' work *De aedificiis,* a flattering description of the achievements of Justinian in the field of architecture. In this work the author not only described what Justinian built; he also reported what the emperor demolished, that is, pagan or barbaric structures of any kind.[90] However, not a word is said about the Neoplatonic school in the treatise. Athens itself is mentioned three times. The only reference of interest here is *De aedificiis* IV.2.24. Procopius says that total negligence had caused the poor state of the defence walls of Athens (as well as of some other Greek cities). Also in the *Secret History* he blames Justinian personally for impoverishing Greece economically to the extent that no public buildings could be restored, not even in Athens. Things were not going well in sixth century Athens.[91] This could, perhaps, provide something of an explanation for why a centre of learning was closed, but in no way does it support the traditional view.

There is, however, one text from Procopius' pen which deals with the emperor's attitude towards teachers. In the *Secret History* Procopius states that Justinian gave pagan teachers and doctors three months to convert or to emigrate.[92] This would partly confirm Agathias' narrative of the seven professors, but three months is too short a time to fit perfectly into the story. We are still within the year 529, if three months is added to the promulgation date of this law. Chosroes was not yet the ruler of Persia. But as already

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87 Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum* VII.9 (ed. Refoulé (1954), 193).

88 *Ref.* see Coleman-Norton (1930) (in particular *PG* 57, col. 392; *PG* 59, col. 31; *PG* 60, col. 47; *PG* 63, col. 501; and *PG* 64, col. 26). Fernández (1983), 29 called this *topos* an "oriental current", giving further references to texts. Tertullian, however, proves that such comparisons between Christianity and philosophy to the favour of the former were not unknown in the West, either.

89 Walden (1909), 126, note 2.

90 This is not the place to discuss the complicated question of Procopius' attitude towards Christianity. Aspects on this theme can be found in Averil Cameron's article "The Scepticism of Procopius" in her study (Averil Cameron (1981)).

91 *Anecdota* XXVI.35. Alan Cameron (1969), 8 points out that "the general decline of Athenian prosperity" in the sixth century has passed unnoticed by scholars only too often.

92 Procopius' account is confirmed by *CJ* I.5.18.4 and I.11.10.2 (ed. Krüger (1959)).

mentioned, if such a law against pagan teachers existed the edict concerning philosophy in Athens would seem superfluous.

4. An Alternative Interpretation

In searching for an alternative interpretation of the events of 529 the following facts should be taken in account:

a) The closing of the so-called Neoplatonic school is very poorly attested in contemporary literary sources, as far as explicit statements are concerned. Neither Justinian's admirers nor his critics paid attention to the event. We have nothing more explicit than one third of a sentence in Malalas' *Chronographia*.

b) Malalas does not connect the 529 edict with the conflict between religions, or with religion at all, nor can any triumphant "hallelujahs" be heard in any other Christian sources. Sixth century Christians had no notion of a great victory for their religion through the closing of the Neoplatonic school. They rejoice in Christianity being more successful than Greek philosophy, but so they had been doing since the second century apologists, and would go on doing for centuries.

c) From a legal point of view no edict against pagan philosophy in Athens was needed, since such tuition was forbidden already, be it public or private.

d) The sources dealing with philosophy around the turn of the century display a serious decline all over the empire. Nonetheless philosophers enjoyed an extraordinary authority among educated people in those same times (so Malalas, Agathias, and Damascius).[93]

e) Severe measures against paganism in the Athens area are indicated in the literary *(Vita Procli)* and archeological (Omega building, possibly Proclus' house) material from the fifth and early sixth centuries.

There can hardly be any discord among scholars as to the fact that Justinian would suppress paganism whenever he had the chance.[94] But we cannot infer that *any* measures taken by him had a religious and *only* a religious motivation. Interpreting the 529 events a priori and exclusively from religious viewpoints would be more "Gibbonish" than Gibbon himself.

It is odd, and possibly a consequence of the strong position of the traditional view, that a *political* explanation of the 529 events is not discussed among scholars, regardless of the fact that philosophers had been persecuted by emperors in centuries past for being

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93 Damascius, *Vita Isidori* fr. *104 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 79) gives the information that members of the city councils in Alexandria and Athens used to visit the philosophers before their sessions in the fifth century, and that "still (today)", when philosophy as a discipline was declining, its "great and wonderful ring" survived.

94 Justinian could be pragmatic enough to tolerate a practising pagan in his own court as minister of law when the welfare of the empire seemed to need it. But Tribonian was an exception, the general tenor in Justinian's religious legislation was strongly anti-pagan, though even more strongly anti-heretic.

politically dangerous. Damascius himself suggests an instance of such persecutions in the fifth century A.D.[95]

The only explicit source we have, that of John Malalas, is reticent as to both religious and political motives, however. Instead, it seems to suggest an alternative motive. Malalas has, in his text, combined the edict against philosophy with an edict against jurisprudence in Athens. The latter measure could hardly have been religiously motivated in the first place. Justinian took a keen interest in juridical studies and reorganised them thoroughly and into the smallest details. The need for such a reorganization was due to the low standard of juridical knowledge among professors as well as students.[96] Such a decline was, as noted above, mentioned frequently in texts regarding philosophy. The emperor fixed the length of legal studies, the books that had to be read, the way of life of the students, the number of copies allowed to be made of the *Codex Iustinianus,* and so forth. He even made his own corrections, however small, in both old and new laws in the *Codex*.[97] He also concentrated the teaching of jurisprudence to three cities, that is, to Byzantium, Berytus, and Rome. Illegal teaching was prosecuted.[98] There may have been some pagan lawyers, such as Tribonian, in the empire, but the above-mentioned measures cannot possibly be explained by the emperor's anti-pagan bias.[99] They are first of all exponents of his interest in jurisprudence in general,[100] an interest which made him regulate its teaching. The overall result of his education reform seems to have been positive in the sense that there were more academic chairs than before in jurisprudence.[101]

Malalas does not mention the reason why jurisprudence was prohibited in Athens, nor does he tell us why another academic discipline mentioned by him, that is to say philosophy, was likewise prohibited. The former prohibition is best explained by Justinian's high-school policy. The latter is easily explained by the same motive, and fits the sources presented better than the traditional view or other explanations stressing religious aspects. By regarding the closure of the Neoplatonic school first and foremost as a high-school measure we can easily solve a number of problems connected with the traditional view and understand the sources as they stand:

a) the problem of the 529 edict being "superfluous" disappears. The law forbidding pagans to teach and the law closing down two academic branches have little to do with each other and thus both are needed. Thus the account of Malalas as regards the edict gets a *raison d'être;*

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95 Damascius seems to draw a parallel between the (persecution of) philosophers in Alexandria under Zeno and armed attempts to restore pagan rule in the Empire (*Vita Isidori* 303 (ed. Zintzen (1967), 241–243)). At any rate he has noted the *political* danger any influential pagan assembly constitutes for the Christian society.

96 See Rubin (1960), 154 and Alan Cameron (1969), 8, referring to Constitution *"Omnem"* 7 (ed. Krüger (1959)).

97 See Rubin (1960), 89 for "Justinianism"; Schindler (1966), 2.

98 Rubin (1960), 155, referring to Constitution *"Omnem"* 7 (ed. Krüger (1959)).

99 Correctly Bury (1923) II, 369.

100 It is often claimed that Justinian had studied jurisprudence himself, *e.g.* Rubin (1960), 90; Schindler (1966), 2 is undecided whether Justinian received "eine volle juristische Ausbildung". The emperor's interest can at least partly be explained by the fact that he was fully aware of laws being the "weapons" by which the Empire was controlled, Constitution *"Summa"* (ed. Krüger (1959)).

101 So Hunger (1965), 349, according to whom the number of chairs rose from six to eight in the Empire.

b) the fact that Malalas does not mention *religious* motives for the closing is accounted for: the motives were not predominantly religious, but "academic";

c) the fact that the Christians paid no attention whatever to the closing of the Neoplatonic school (argument *e silentio*) is explained: they saw nothing particularly important in an academic affair. Byzantine believers showed equally little interest in the removal of the Alexandrian school to Antioch after Olympiodorus, and of the Berytian law school to Sidon after the disastrous earthquake of 557. Presumably for a long time only a few were aware of the closure;[102]

d) Procopius was quite correct in maintaining that Justinian closed down ancient institutions (not for religious reasons but) in order to realise his own innovations: "The maintenance of established institutions meant nothing to him: endless innovations were his constant preoccupation. In a word, he was a unique destroyer of valuable institutions;"[103]

e) Agathias is given right in maintaining that the professors left the empire out of discontent with public affairs and by their own free choice. *No* surviving text combines the closure of the Neoplatonic with compulsory exile. The closing was compulsory (Malalas), the exodus not (Agathias);

f) the seven professors had plenty of time to leave the country, as *Agathias* presupposes. The act of high-school policy did not imply quick emigration, just the cessation of teaching;

g) Justinian did not recall a measure against the religion of the professors by admitting them religious freedom after their return from Persia. He had never interfered with the religous beliefs of these professors, merely issued general laws in religious matters. Thus Agathias' account becomes intelligible;

h) the different treatments of the Athenian and Alexandrian philosophical schools has a natural explanation. Philosophy was not going well in the Empire, and particularly not in Athens. The closing down of one "faculty" was tempting, particularly since the school of law in Athens was also to be closed;

i) a hitherto popular explanation as to why the Alexandrian school survived can be dropped as implausible. Scholars have presupposed that a considerable difference as to the attitude of the professors to religion existed between the two schools.[104] In fact very

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102 Alan Cameron (1969), 25 pays attention to a piece of information, according to which Theodorus of Tarsus had studied philosophy at Athens in the 7th century. This statement can, however, easily be explained by the fact that the 529 events did not merit as an important piece of news in the Empire and was unknown to the author.

103 *Anecdota* VI.21.

104 Hunger (1965), 342 is of the opinion that the Alexandrian philosophical school survived because the professors agreed to compromise (more than their Athenian colleagues) in religious matters. See also Fowden (1982), 38, Glucker (1978), 324 and Alan Cameron (1969), 9–10. The difficulty in maintaining such a view is evident in the last mentioned article itself. The Athenians are said to have been overtly anti-Christian and uncompromising, but the Alexandrians not so. Nonetheless the Athenians are said to have embraced the policy advocated in Epictetus' *Encheiridion* not to provoke the authorities (p. 19). Having been uncompromising at least from Proclus till Damascius, they

little can be said in support of such a view. The most determined pagan at the Athenian school, Proclus, had studied in Alexandria for some time. Close connections between the two schools continued even after his time. It appears from the *Vita Isidori* that Isidorus spent four periods in Alexandria, and four in Athens. Damascius, who was responsible for the Athenian policy for decades, spent a considerable part of his life in Alexandria. Simplicius, too, one of the seven who left for Persia with the supposed Athenians, was equally at home in both cities. Olympiodorus was openly a pagan, but taught philosophy in Alexandria three decades after the Neoplatonic school in Athens had been closed.[105] Both schools were also predominantly Platonic. Under these circumstances religous motives could play only a small part if any in Justinian's decision to close one school and leave the other school intact;

j) by interpreting the 529 events as high-school politics we can understand why the Neoplatonic school was *closed* and not *reorganised.* Among the Byzantines of the day a certain "imperialistic" tendency was evident, manifest in the numerous cases where pagan edifices were changed into Christian churches; for example, the Asklepieion next to the House of Proclus was made a Christian pilgrimage site,[106] the Parthenon into a Christian church. The Neoplatonic school was not Christianised, however. Christian professors were soon to find their way to Byzantium and Alexandria, but not to Athens. A reorganization of the Athenian school was, according to our view, not needed, since the school was regarded as superfluous rather than dangerous, in the same way as the Athenian "faculty" of law;

k) Justinian's tendency towards centralisation and "monopolies", so bitterly criticised by Procopius in his *Secret History,* is commonly acknowledged among scholars. A centralisation of higher tuition is precisely in line with Justinian's policy in other areas of life.

In conclusion we can state that if Justinian, by closing the Athenian school of philosophy, also succeeded in suppressing paganism and perhaps by getting financial advantages from the closure, he certainly acted in accordance with his well-known manners. But our sources rather suggest that the Emperor had other interests in mind when forbidding philosophy and jurisprudence in Athens, namely the reform of higher education. This reform, at least as far as jurisprudence was concerned, culminated in 529 with the appearance of the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus.* As for philosophy, its few but highly esteemed professionals and students were henceforth directed to the biggest metropoleis of the Empire.

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suddenly decided in 529 not to provoke anyone (p. 21). Wildberg (1987), 11 states optimistically that "recent work has rejected the idea that in Alexandria the Neoplatonists compromised with Christian monotheism".

105 Alan Cameron (1969), 9 with references; Westerink (1962), XV–XX.

106 Karivieri (in press).

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Fig. 1. Athens, from 86 B.C. to A.D. 267, the so-called Library of Hadrian in the centre of the plan. (Frantz (1988), pl. 2; Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)

Fig. 2 a. Athens, fifth century after Christ; the so-called Library of Hadrian in the centre of the plan (compare with fig. 1). (Frantz (1988), pl. 4; Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)

Fig. 2 b. Proveniences and findspots of inscriptions. The southwestern section of the Post-Herulian Wall (between the Beulé Gate and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus), as well as the southeastern section (from the Lysiou Street to the south, around the Acropolis to the southwestern corner of the theatre of Dionysus) have been indicated hypothetically (compare Travlos (1988b), esp. 137–138, 140, pl. 5, our fig. 3); it is assumed that the Post-Herulian Wall protected the Asklepieion area, the theatre and the Peripatos, whereas the Odeum of Pericles was already in ruins and its precinct used for dumping, and still later, as a cemetery (Orlandos (1931), 28–30). The southern flank of the wall from the Odeum of Herodes Atticus to the western side of the theatre was recently spotted by Manoles Korres (Korres (1988), 18–20).

Fig. 3. Athens, fifth century after Christ: the Acropolis and the Post-Herulian Wall. The 'Library of Hadrian' and the tetraconch within the Hadrianic construction in the centre of the northern flank of the Post-Herulian Wall. (Frantz (1988), pl. 5; Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)

Fig. 4 a. The 'Library of Hadrian' at Athens, plan after John Travlos.

Fig. 4 b. The 'Library of Hadrian' with tetraconch church. (Frantz (1988), pl. 51 b; Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations)

Fig. 5. The Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius in Ephesus. (Miltner (1958), fig. 50; Copyright: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien)

Fig. 6. The *Kaisersaal* in the Bath-Gymnasium of Vedius in Ephesus from the north-east. (Copyright: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien)

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Fig. 34. The large Late Roman villa of Montmaurin in Haute-Garonne, France, around A.D. 350. (Fouet (1969), fig. 23)

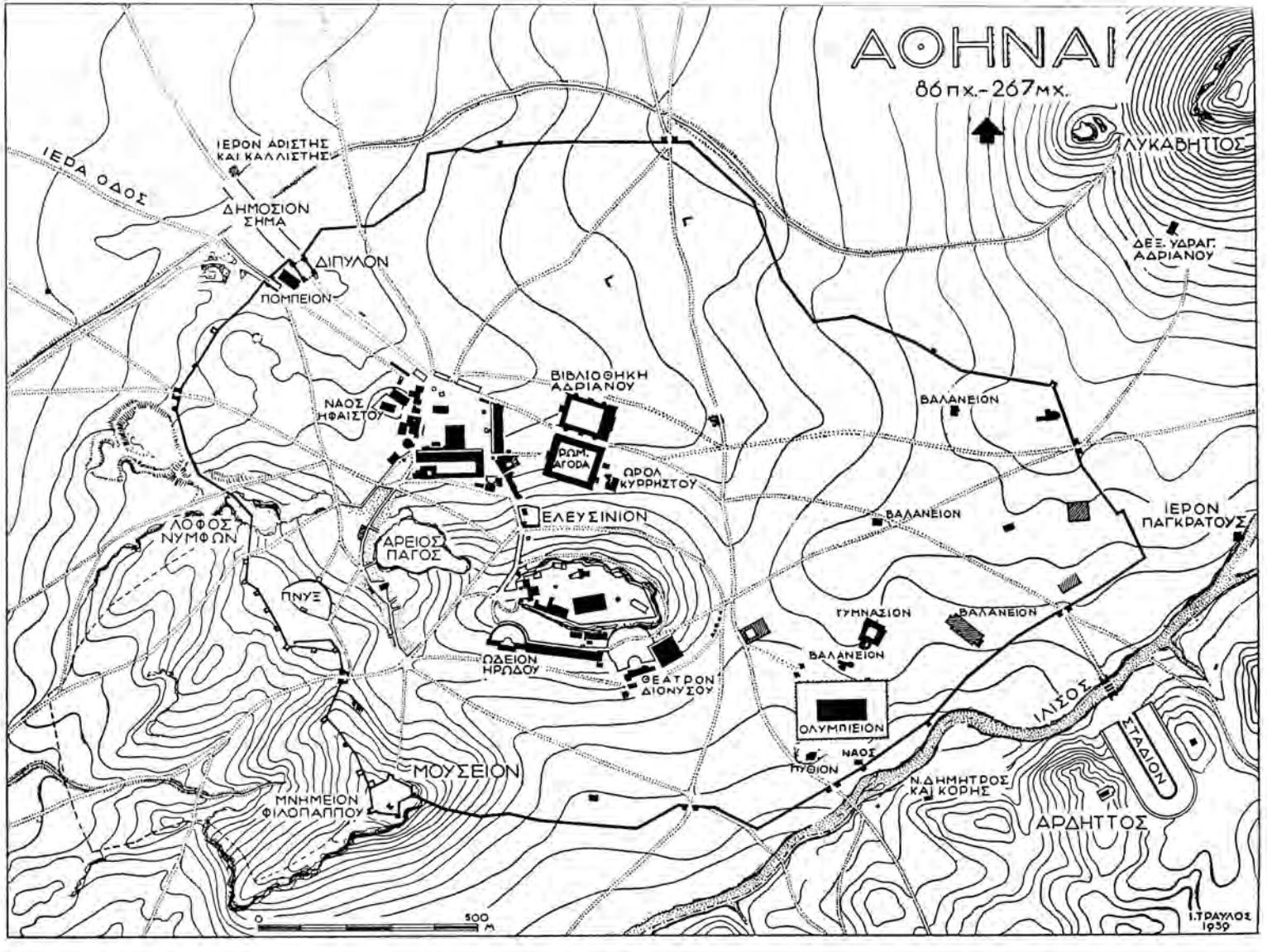
ΑΘΗΝΑΙ
86 π.χ.-267 μ.χ.
ΙΕΡΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΣ
ΙΕΡΑ ΟΔΟΣ
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΣΗΜΑ
ΔΙΠΥΛΟΝ
ΠΟΜΠΕΙΟΝ
ΛΥΚΑΒΗΤΤΟΣ
ΔΕΞ. ΥΔΡΑΓ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΝΑΟΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥ
ΡΩΜ. ΑΓΟΡΑ
ΟΡΟΣ ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΟΥ
ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝ
ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΝ
ΙΕΡΟΝ ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΛΟΦΟΣ ΝΥΜΦΩΝ
ΑΡΕΙΟΣ ΠΑΓΟΣ
ΠΝΥΞ
ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΝ
ΩΔΕΙΟΝ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ
ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΙΟΝ
ΙΛΙΣΟΣ
ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ
ΠΥΘΙΟΝ
ΝΑΟΣ
Ν. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΗΣ
ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΠΠΟΥ
ΑΡΔΗΤΤΟΣ
0 500 M
Ι. ΤΡΑΥΛΟΣ 1939

Fig. 1

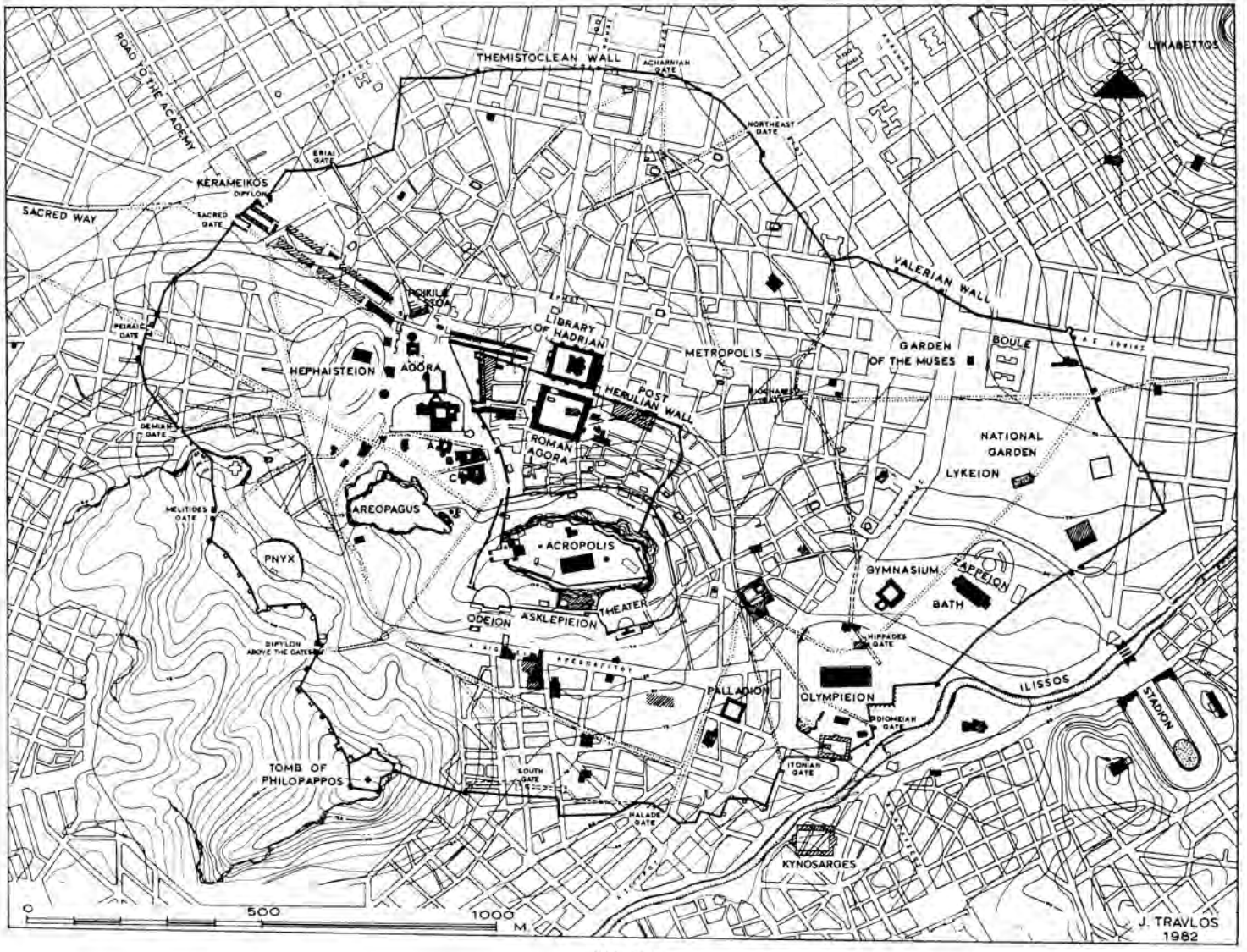
THEMISTOCLEAN WALL
ACHARNIAN GATE
NORTHEAST GATE
LYKABETTOS
ROAD TO THE ACADEMY
ERIAI GATE
KERAMEIKOS
DIPYLON
SACRED GATE
SACRED WAY
VALERIAN WALL
PEIRAIC GATE
POIKILE STOA
LIBRARY OF HADRIAN
METROPOLIS
GARDEN OF THE MUSES
BOULE
HEPHAISTEION
AGORA
POST HERULIAN WALL
DEMIAS GATE
ROMAN AGORA
NATIONAL GARDEN
LYKEION
MELITIDES GATE
AREOPAGUS
ACROPOLIS
PNYX
GYMNASIUM
ZAPPEION
BATH
ODEION
ASKLEPIEION
THEATER
DIPYLON ABOVE THE GATES
HIPPADES GATE
PALLADION
OLYMPIEION
ILISSOS
STADION
DIONEIAN GATE
ITONIAN GATE
TOMB OF PHILOPAPPOS
SOUTH GATE
HALADE GATE
KYNOSARGES
0
500
1000
M
J. TRAVLOS
1982

Fig. 2.a

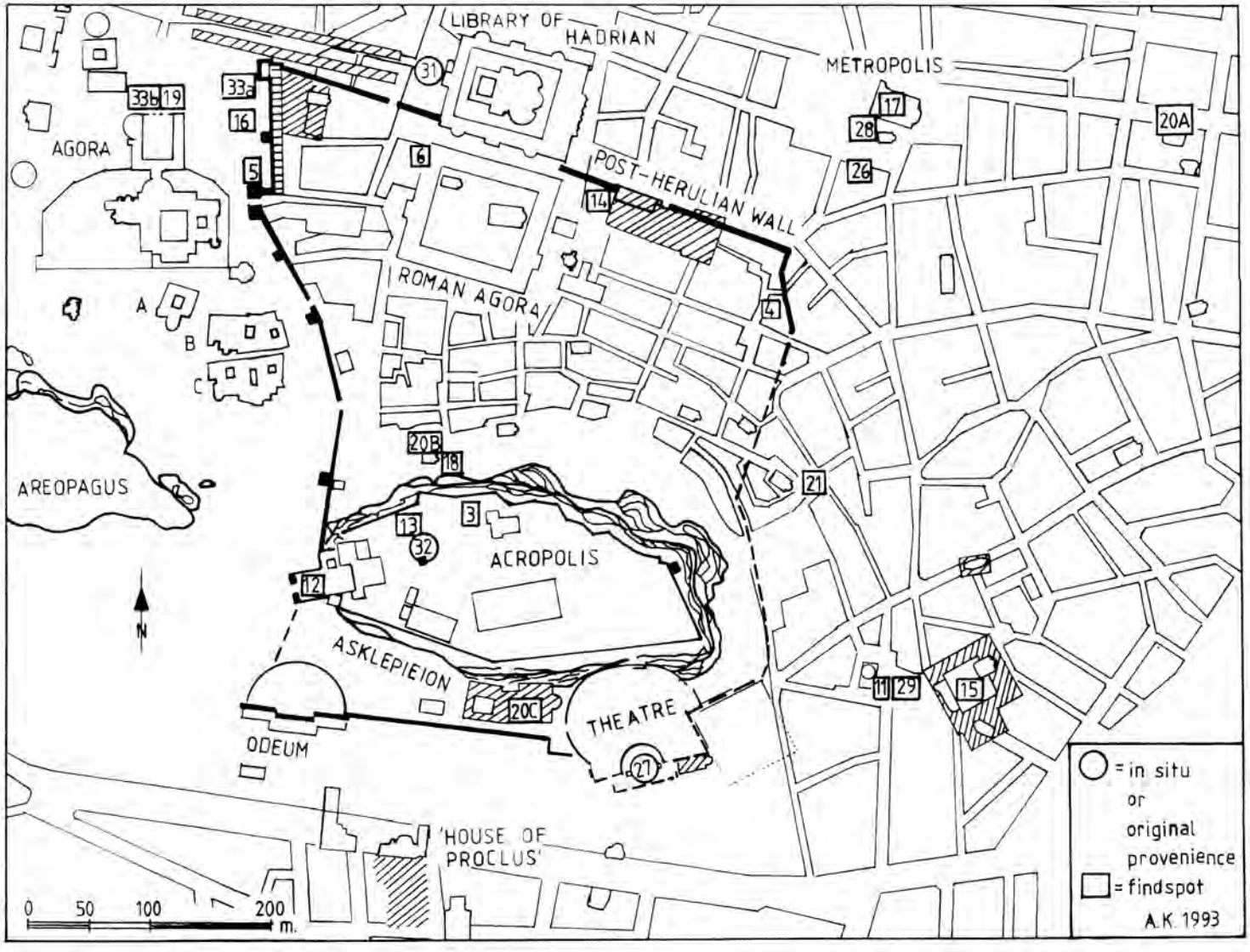
LIBRARY OF HADRIAN
METROPOLIS
AGORA
POST-HERULIAN WALL
ROMAN AGORA
AREOPAGUS
ACROPOLIS
ASKLEPIEION
THEATRE
ODEUM
'HOUSE OF PROCLUS'
N
0 50 100 200 m.
= in situ or original provenience
= findspot
A.K. 1993

Fig. 2 b

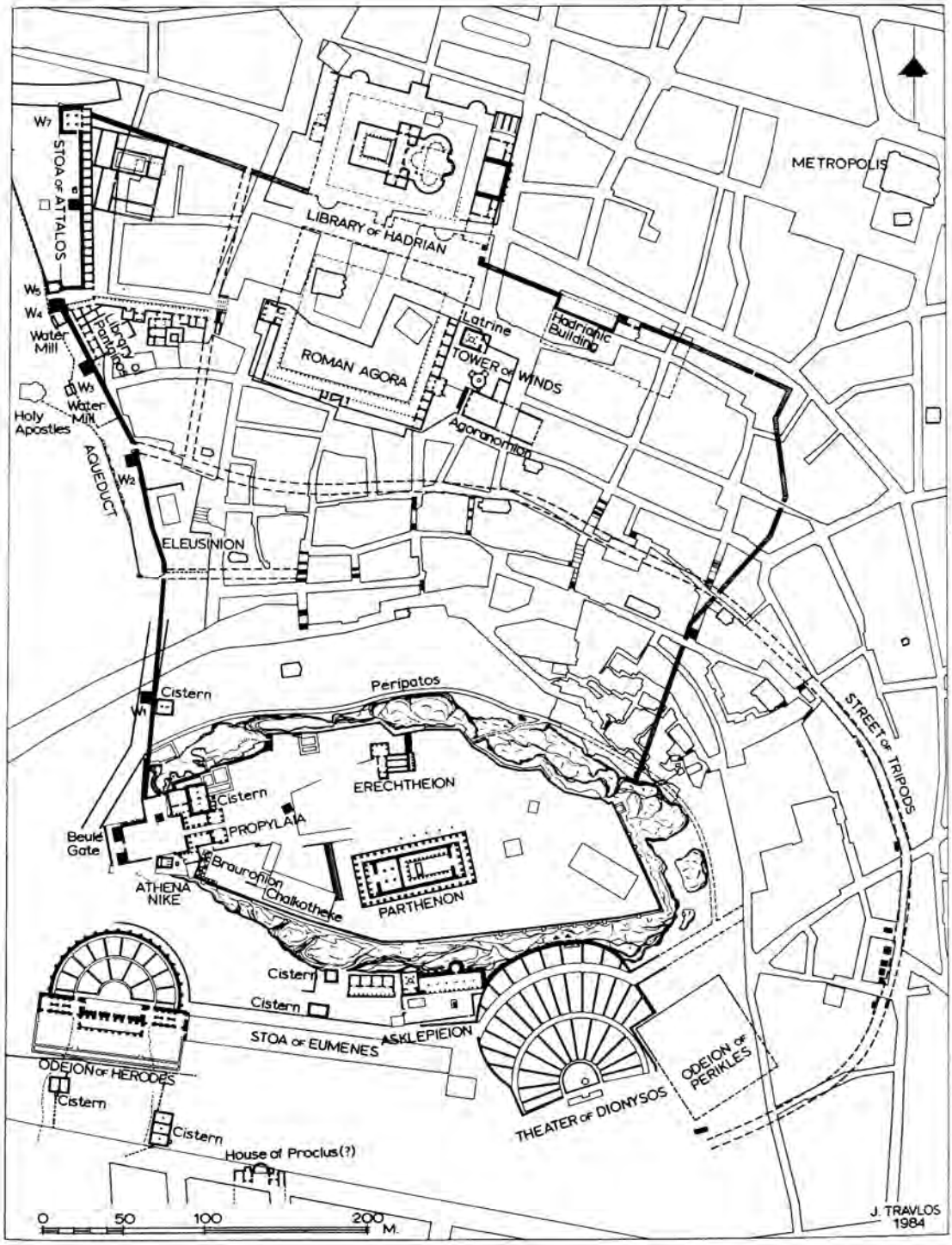
W7
STOA OF ATTALOS
W5
W4
Water Mill
Library Pantainos
W3
Water Mill
Holy Apostles
AQUEDUCT
W2
W1
ELEUSINION
LIBRARY OF HADRIAN
METROPOLIS
ROMAN AGORA
Latrine
TOWER OF WINDS
Hadrianic Building
Agoranomion
Cistern
Peripatos
STREET OF TRIPODS
ERECHTHEION
Cistern
PROPYLAIA
Beule Gate
Brauronion
Chalkotheke
ATHENA NIKE
PARTHENON
Cistern
Cistern
ASKLEPIEION
STOA OF EUMENES
ODEION OF HERODES
Cistern
Cistern
House of Proclus(?)
THEATER OF DIONYSOS
ODEION OF PERIKLES
0
50
100
200 M.
J. TRAVLOS
1984

Fig. 3

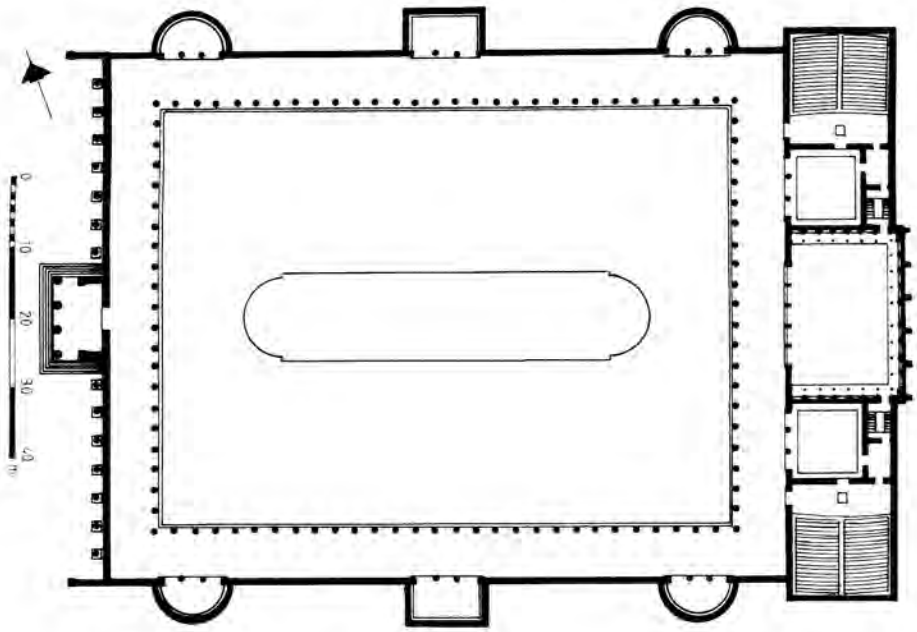

Fig. 4 a

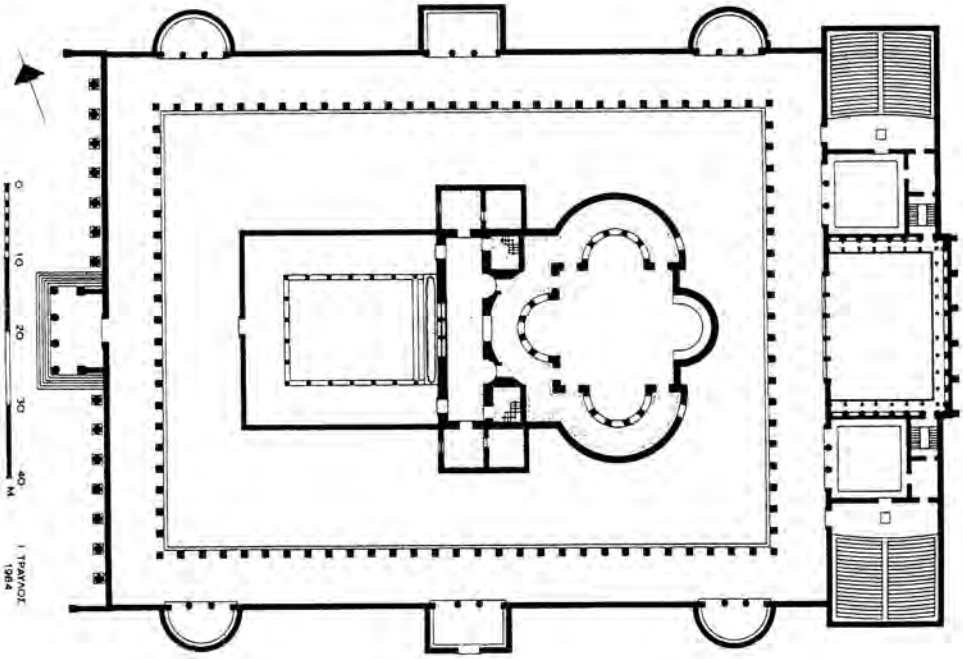

Fig. 4 b

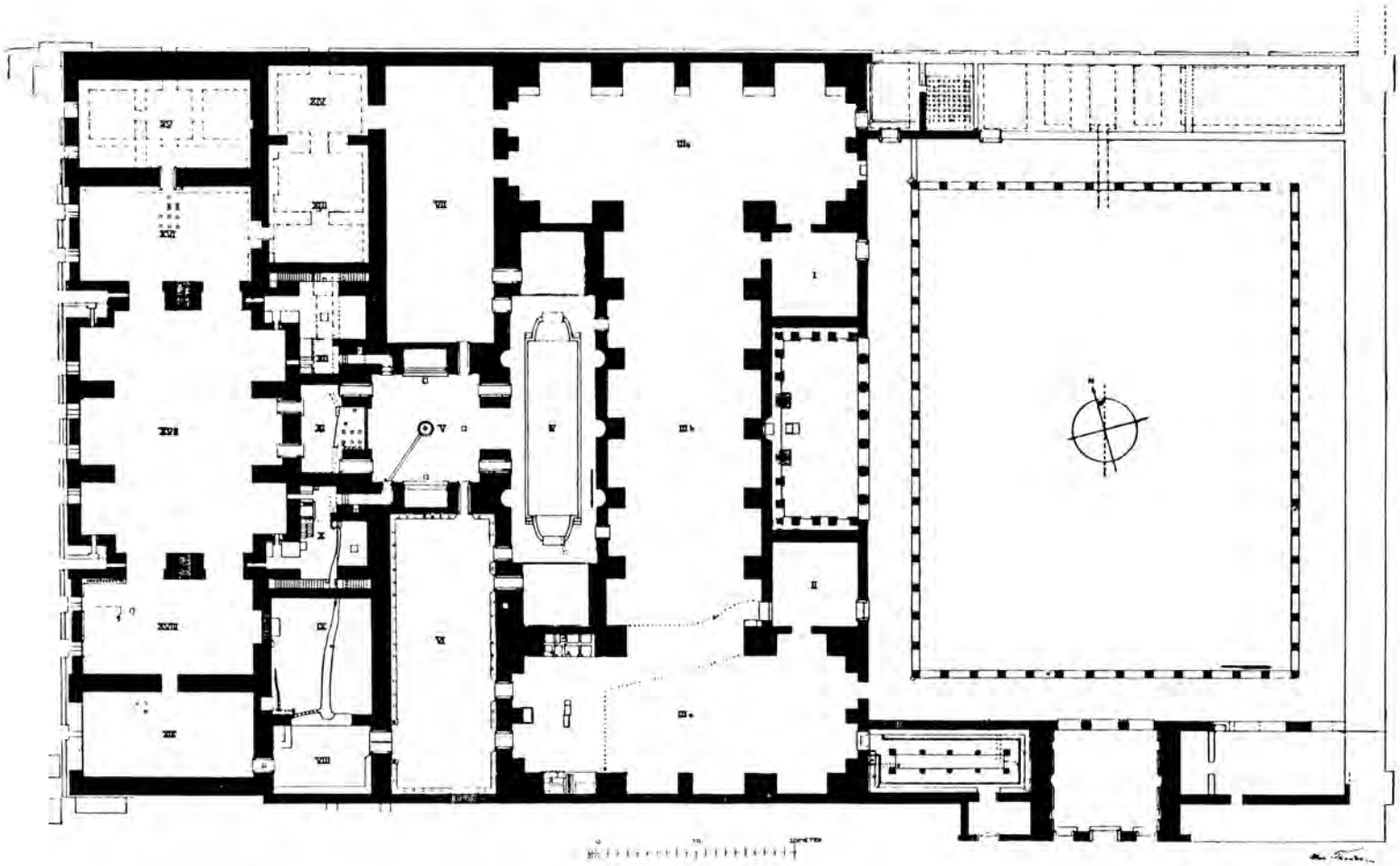

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

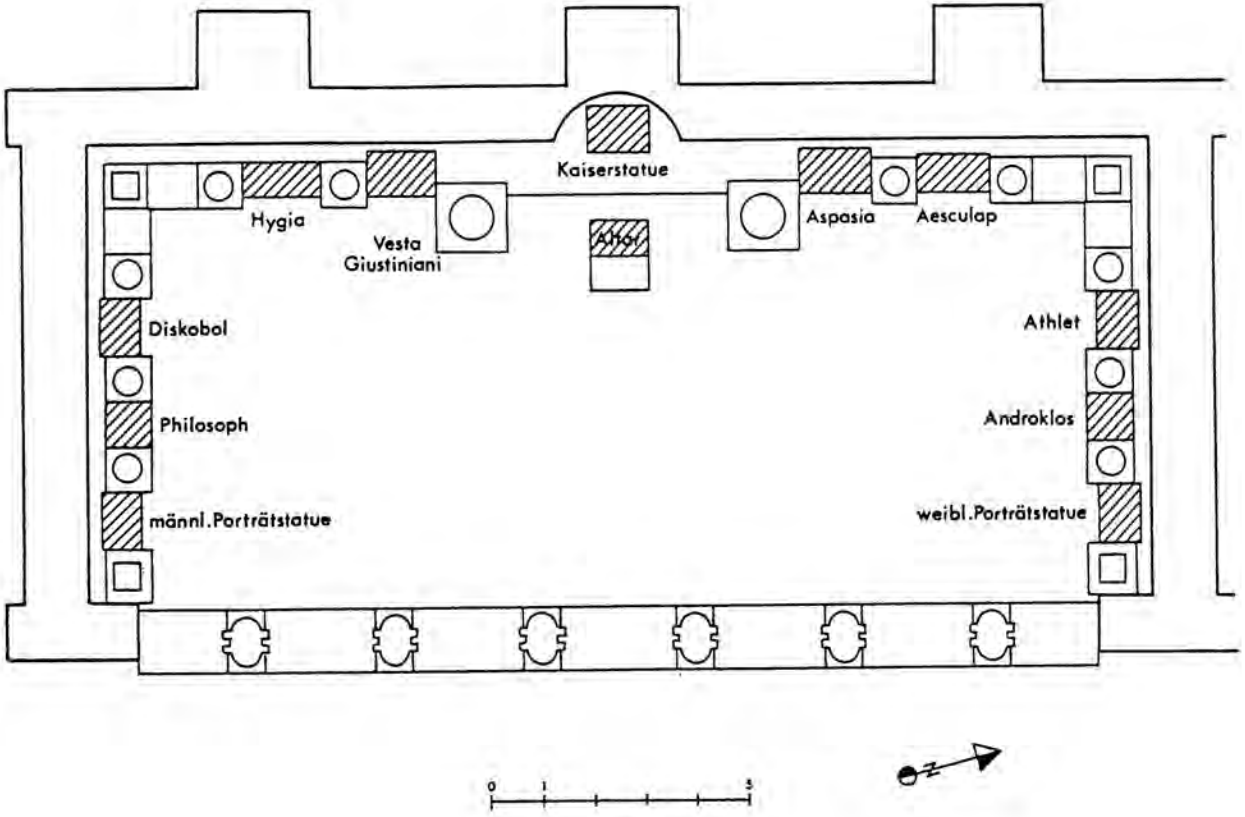
Kaiserstatue
Hygia
Vesta
Giustiniani
Athor
Aspasia
Aesculap
Diskobol
Athlet
Philosoph
Androklos
männl.Porträtstatue
weibl.Porträtstatue
0
1
5
N

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

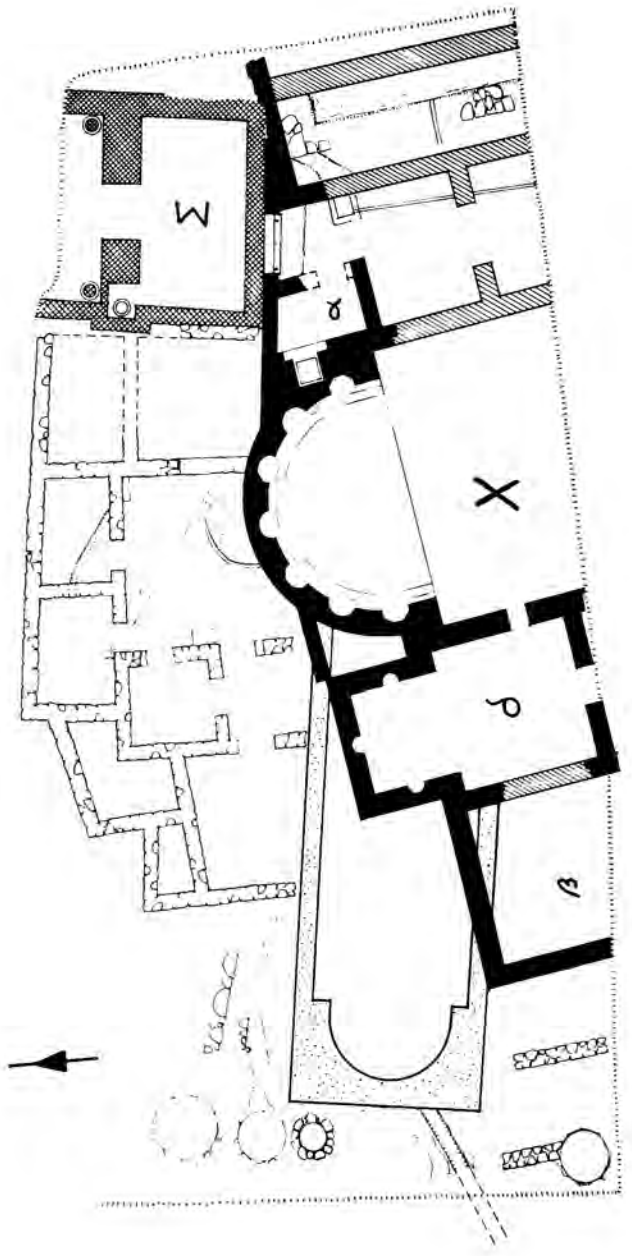

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

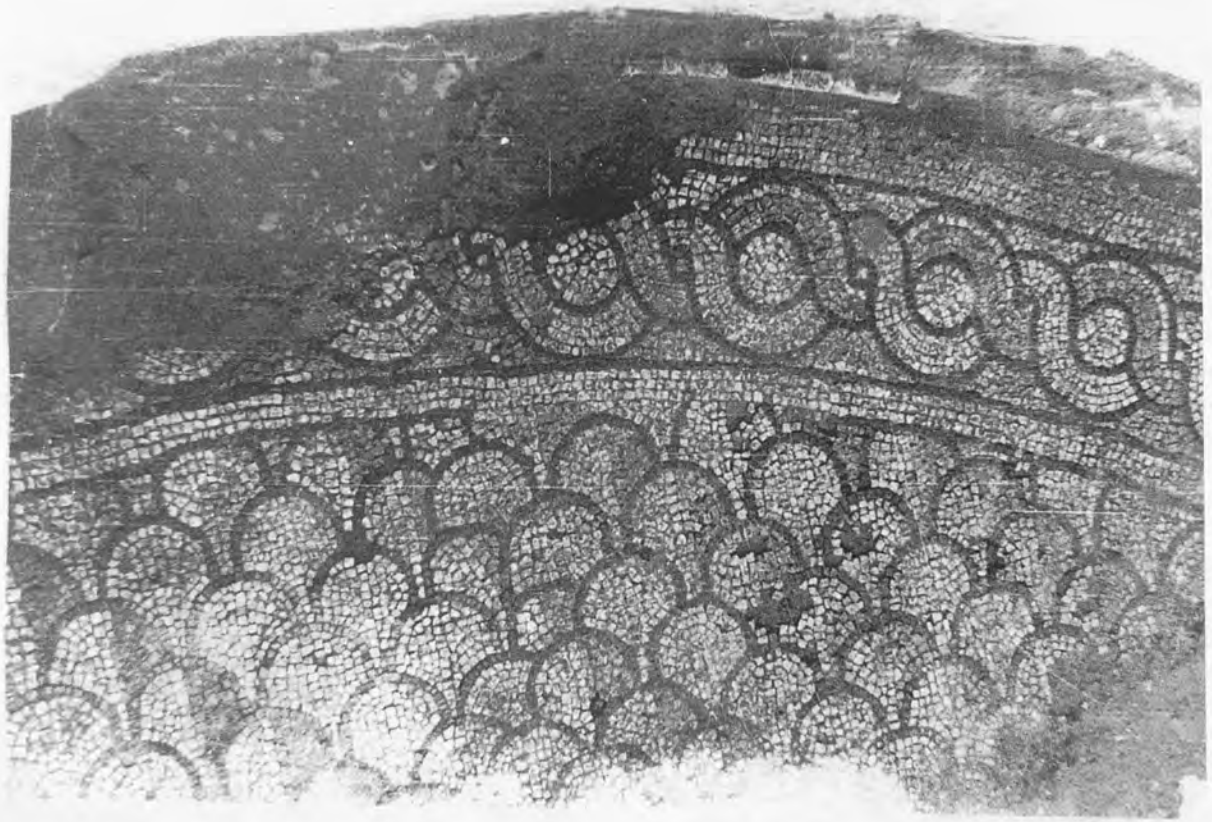

Fig. 15

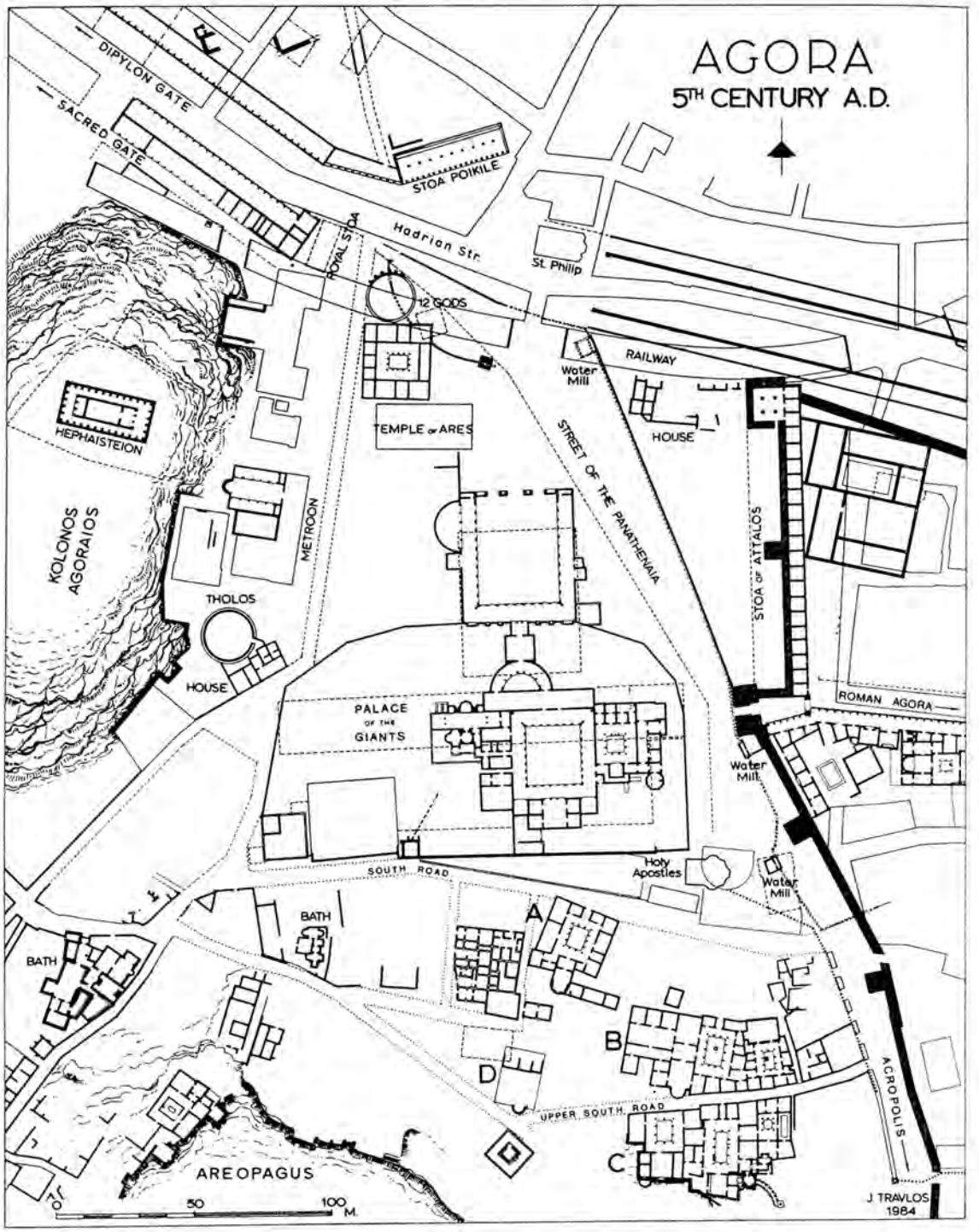
AGORA
5TH CENTURY A.D.
DIPYLON GATE
SACRED GATE
STOA POIKILE
Hadrian Str.
ROYAL STOA
St. Philip
12 GODS
Water Mill
RAILWAY
HOUSE
HEPHAISTEION
TEMPLE OF ARES
STREET OF THE PANATHENAIA
KOLONOS AGORAIOS
METROON
STOA OF ATTALOS
THOLOS
HOUSE
PALACE OF THE GIANTS
ROMAN AGORA
Water Mill
SOUTH ROAD
Holy Apostles
Water Mill
BATH
BATH
A
B
C
D
UPPER SOUTH ROAD
ACROPOLIS
AREOPAGUS
50
100 M.
J. TRAVLOS 1984

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

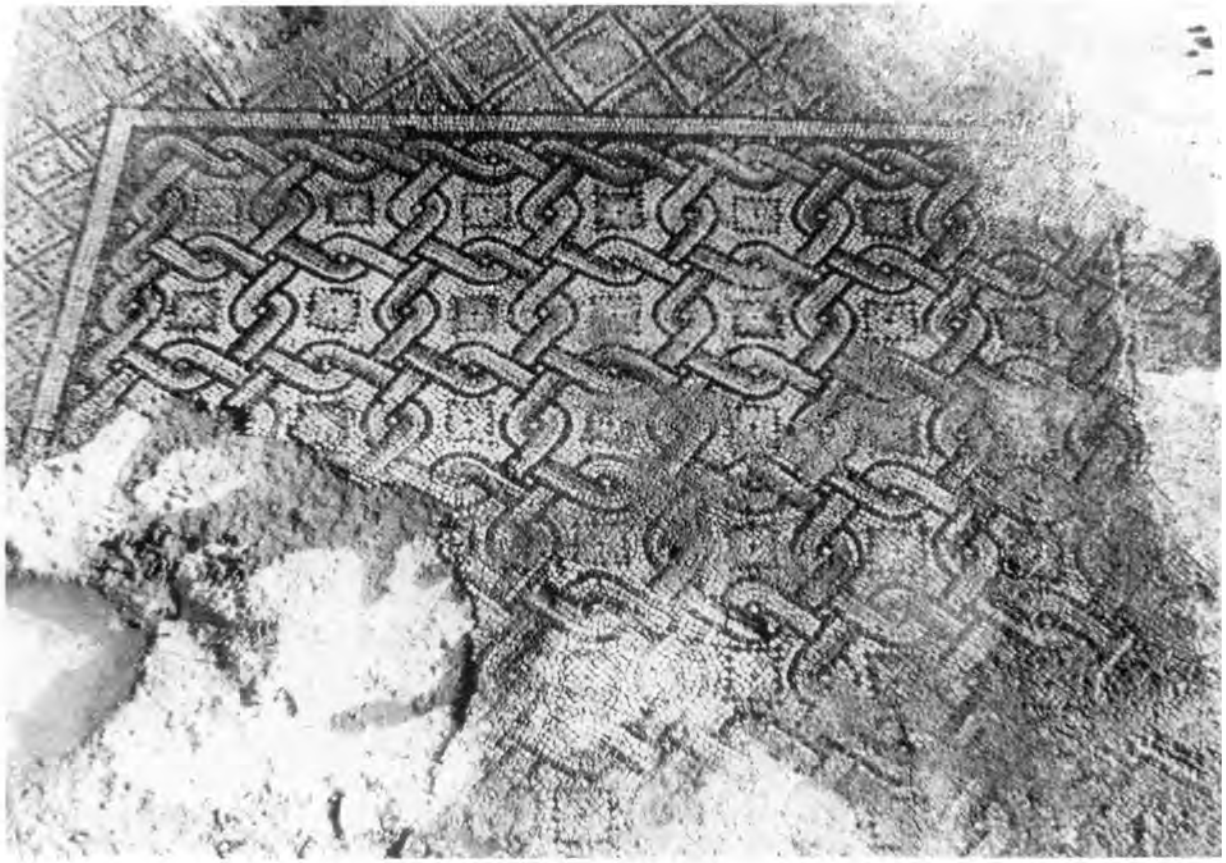

Fig. 25

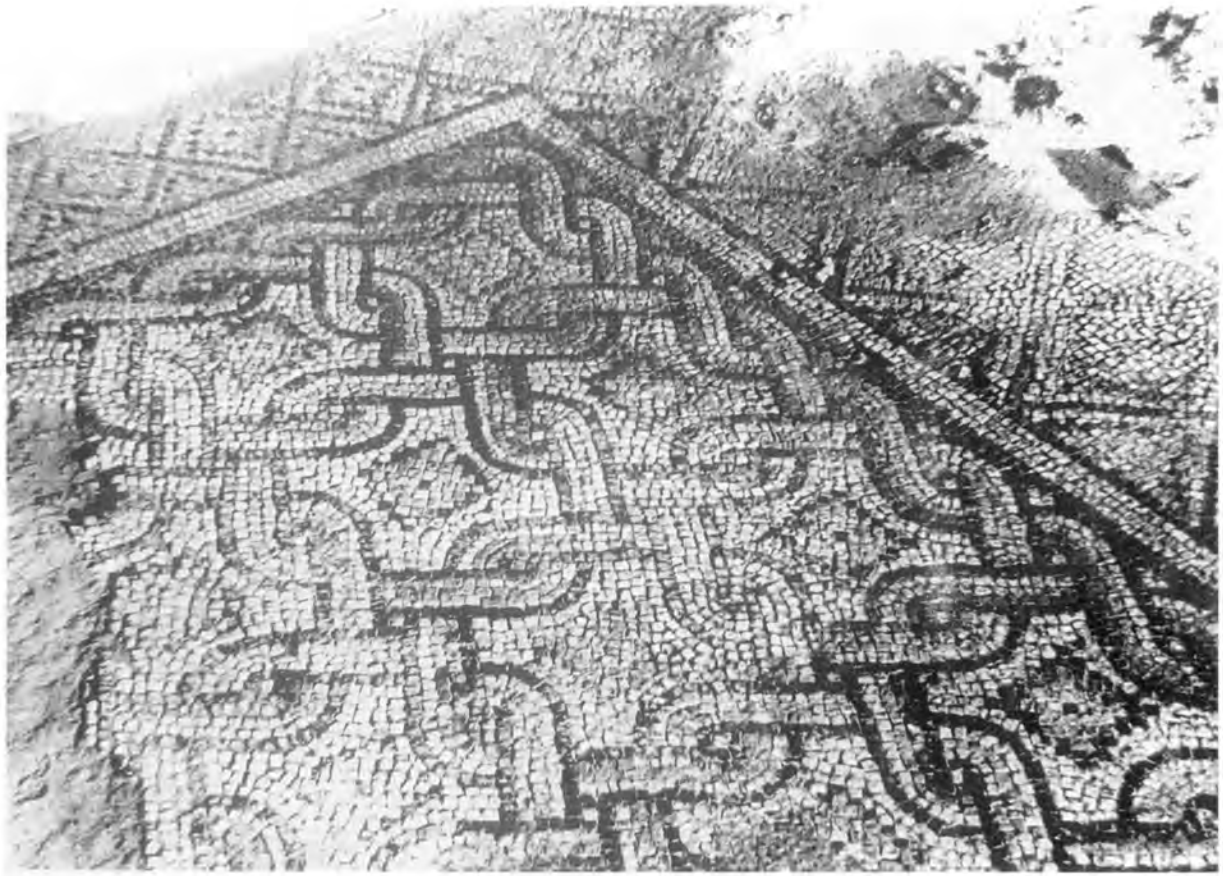

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

Fig. 28

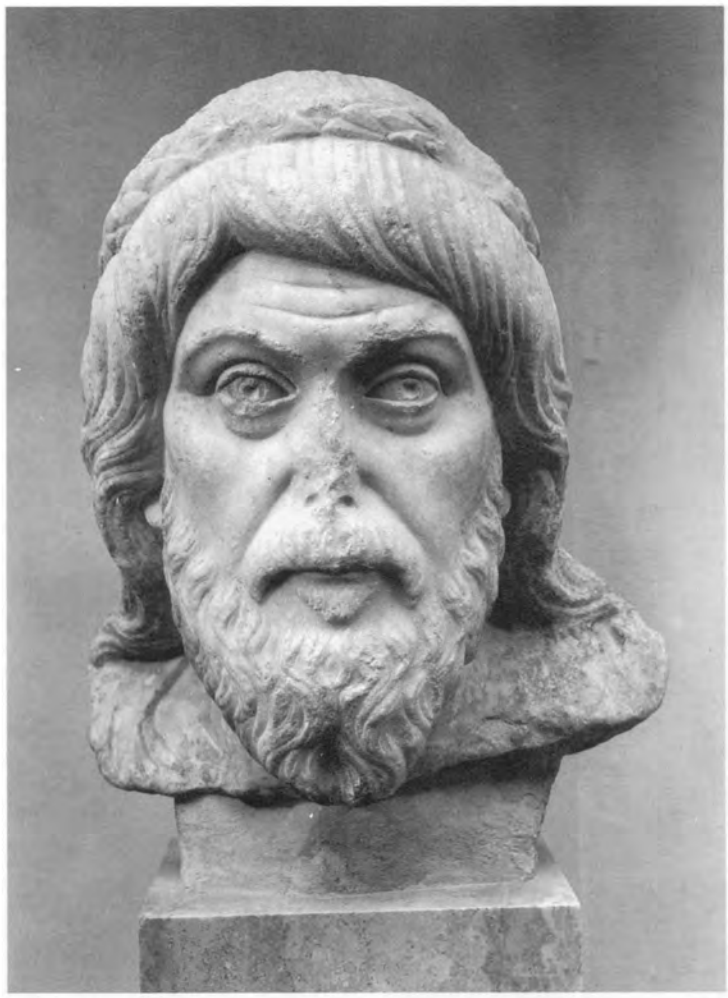

Fig. 29

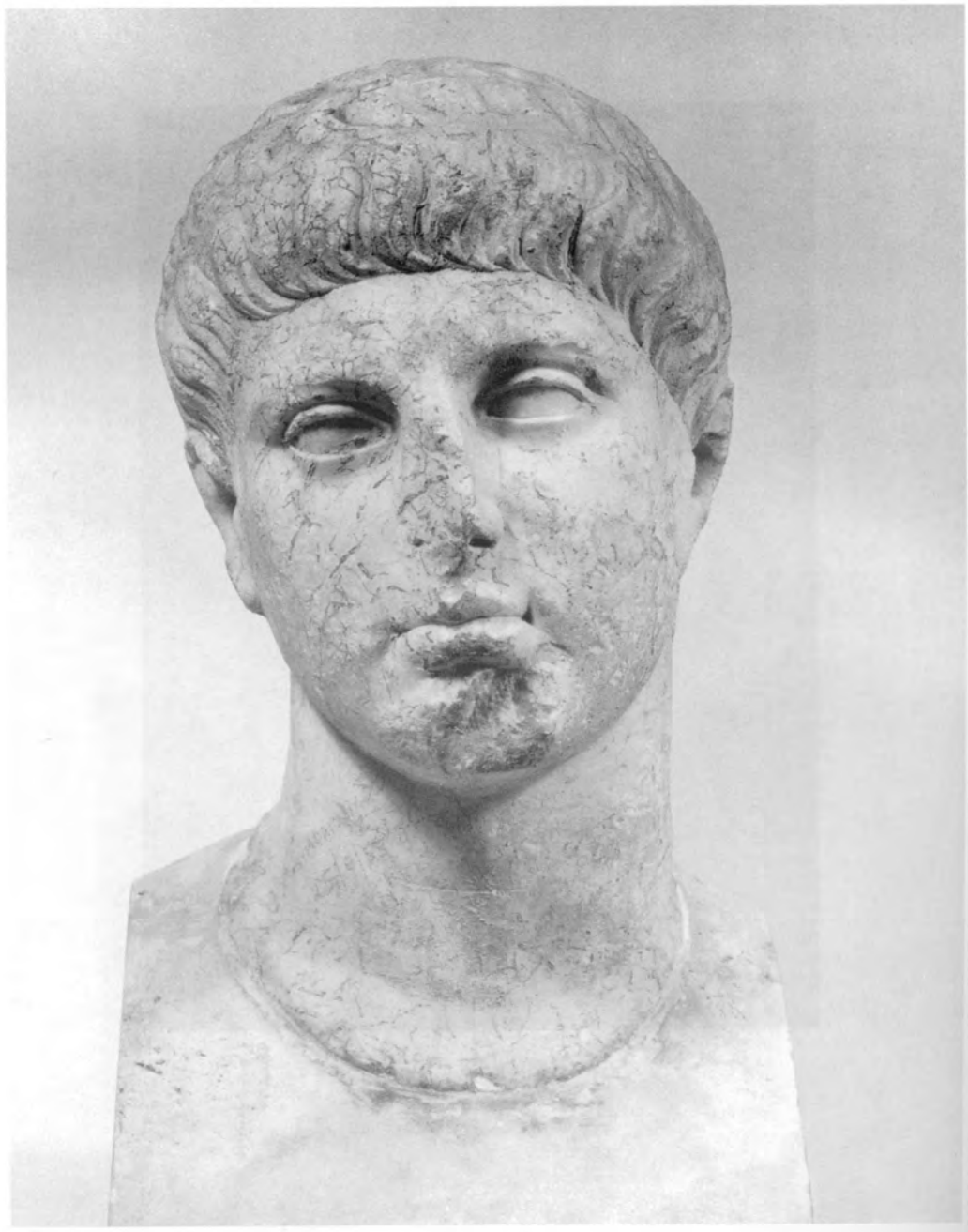

Fig. 30 a

Fig. 30 b

Fig. 31

Fig. 32 a

Fig. 32 b

Fig. 33

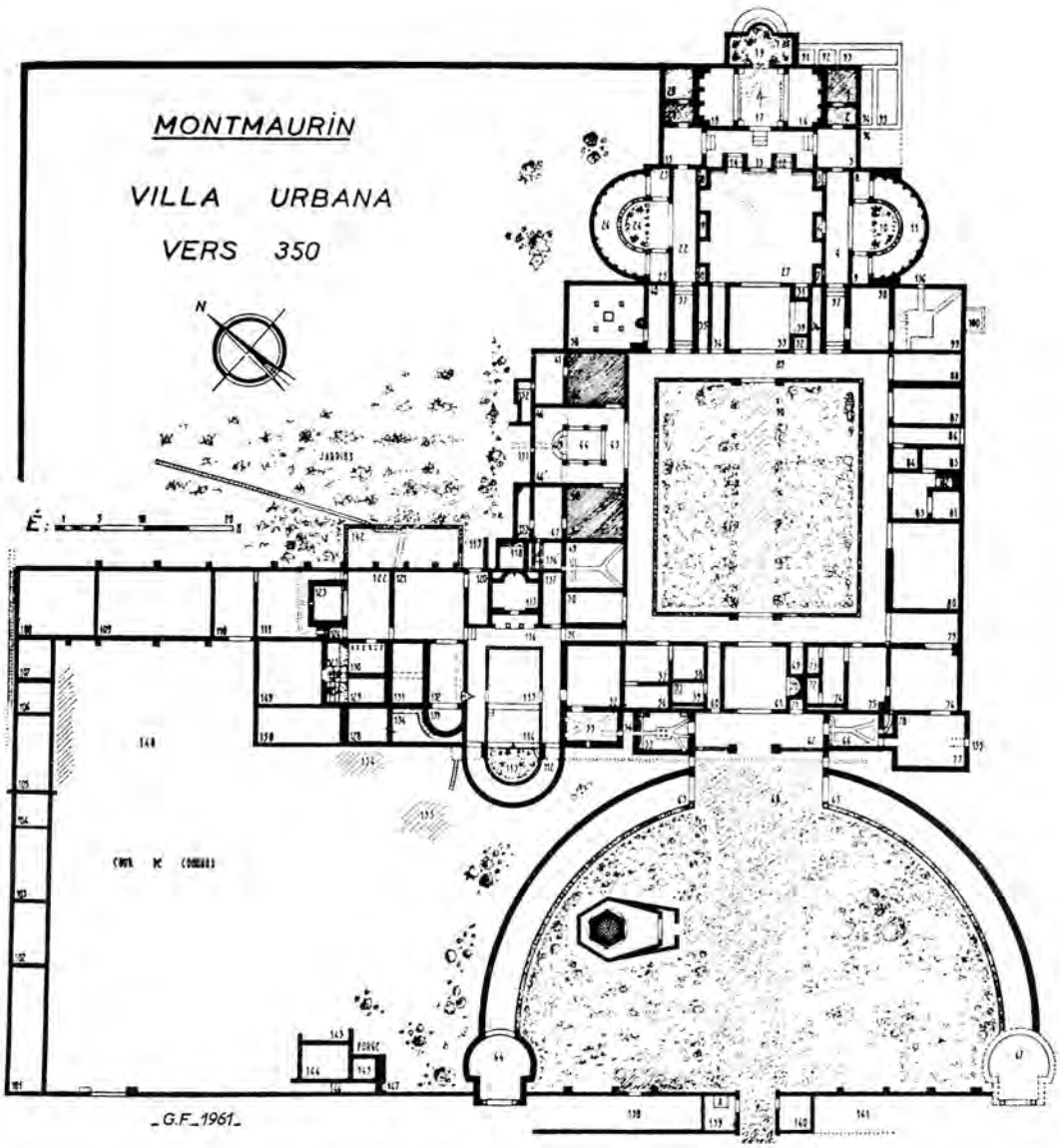

Fig. 34

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ISSN 1237-2684
ISBN 951-95295-2-7